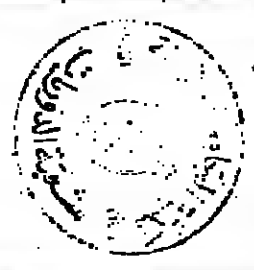


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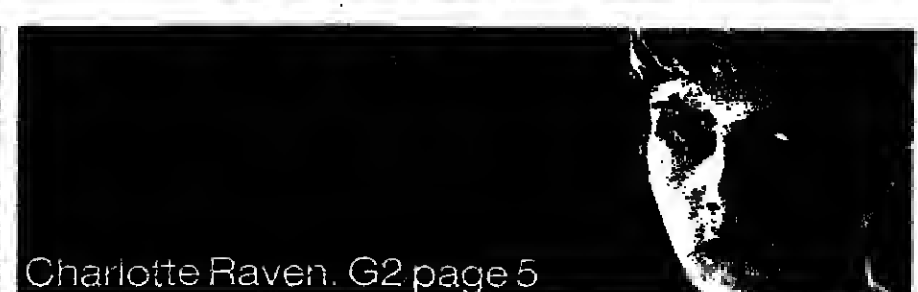


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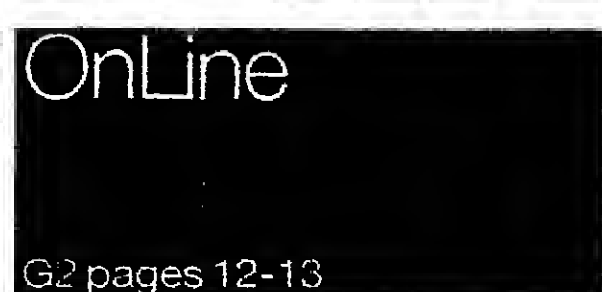
EUROPE



G2 with European weather



Charlotte Raven. G2 page 5



G2 pages 12-13

Lawson accused of being an MI6 agent

Richard Morton-Taylor and Ewen MacAskill

THE editor of the Sunday Telegraph, Dominic Lawson, was named in the Commons yesterday as an MI6 "asset" who was paid for his services for British intelligence.

The allegation that Mr Lawson was an MI6 agent was made by the Labour MP, Brian Sedgmore, during a debate yesterday morning under parliamentary privilege. He said the allegation had been made by the former MI6 officer, Richard Tomlinson.

Later, the Labour MP, George Galloway, tabled an early day motion saying he was "greatly disturbed by the news that a national newspaper editor, Mr Dominic Lawson... has for a considerable period of time served as an intelligence asset of the British secret services who paid him large sums of money into foreign bank accounts for the services he rendered under the guise of a journalist and editor."

Last night, a statement from Mr Lawson said: "I am not and never have been an agent either paid or unpaid of MI6 or any other Government agency."

A Foreign Office spokesman speaking for MI6 said the claim "comes from someone now widely familiar as a source of sensational inventions".

He added: "It is policy that we do not comment on intelligence matters. We cannot, therefore, comment on this specific allegation but we can, however, point out very forcefully that SIS [the Secret Intelligence Service, commonly called MI6] would never have an agent who was editor of a British newspaper."

Earlier yesterday, the Guardian questioned Mr Lawson about articles on the Bosnian civil war, published in the Spectator magazine when he was the editor, written by an MI6 officer under a false name. The officer is believed to have left MI6.

Last night, Mr Lawson told the Guardian: "You claim articles written by Kenneth Roberts were in fact written by an SIS officer. I have no means of knowing if you are right and, if you are, it is news to me." The FO said it could not comment.

Mr Sedgmore named Mr Lawson during an adjournment debate in which he concentrated on the need for a Freedom of Information Act. He said the con-

comitant of such an act was a fair, free and independent press.

"I would hope we would have some time between now and Christmas to look at the claim that Dominic Lawson... has been recruited as a paid MI6 agent," Mr Sedgmore said.

"That seems a very odd thing. It would be very damaging for the press if it were true. It's an allegation being made by Mr Richard Tomlinson. I've no idea whether it is true but it surely is something we should look at."

Paddy Tipping, junior minister in the office of the Leader of the House, Mar-

garet Beckett, replied: "You are trying to tempt me into looking at MI6 - I am going to resist that temptation this morning."

Mr Galloway tabled a series of questions to the Prime Minister asking if public funds had been paid into "any foreign bank account for the benefit of Mr Dominic Lawson for any purpose" and whether Mr Lawson had "ever had any kind of employment relationship" with any government department.

John Wadham, director of Liberty, the civil rights group and lawyer for Mr Tomlinson and David Shayler, the former MI6 of-

ficer now in France, said it was time the Government reassured the public about malpractice in the security and intelligence services.

"We need a proper system of accountability for the services and a thorough independent investigation into each and every one of these allegations," he said.

Downing Street insisted it had no knowledge of the allegations. But speaking off the record, a Government source said he had been assured by MI6 that the allegations were "complete rubbish".

The spy and the Spectator, page 3



Gun fire over Iraq

Julian Borger in Washington, Michael White and Mark Tran in New York

UNITED STATES and British air strikes against Iraq looked imminent last night as officials in Washington said that Saddam Hussein's repeated non-compliance with United Nations weapons inspections left no room for negotiation.

The state department spokesman James Rubin described the situation as "grave" following a UN report on Tuesday cataloguing Iraqi obstruction. Mr Rubin described the report as "pretty definitive", adding it offered "no grounds for optimism" that Baghdad would change its ways. Asked what would happen next, Mr Rubin said: "Stay tuned."

In Baghdad, Saddam Hussein placed his country on a war footing, urging Iraqis not to "hesitate" before the West. Official Iraqi news reports said he had appointed four new regional commanders to coordinate the nation's defences. US intelligence officials said there were signs that Iraqi forces were dispersing.

Among a flurry of signs around the world that an attack was looming, 125 UN personnel were hurriedly evacuated from Baghdad including inspectors from the UN Special Commission on Iraq (Unscim) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to Bahrain.

The Unscim chairman, Richard Butler, said he had taken the decision after the US and Britain had informed him they were withdrawing their nationals from the Unscim inspection teams. Last night only 148 UN humanitarian staff remained in Baghdad.

In Washington, Republican and Democratic congressional leaders met to discuss the postponement of impeach-

ment hearings in the House of Representatives in the light of the Iraq crisis.

After two telephone conversations with President Bill Clinton in 24 hours, Tony Blair used his last pre-Christmas question time in the Commons to offer unequivocal support for allied air strikes without further warning. British Tornado fighter aircraft based in the Middle East are expected to play a minor secondary role in the event of punitive air raids.

The US and Britain insist they have the right to act without notice or further UN consultation in the wake of last month's showdown, in which US bombers on their way to Iraqi targets were recalled after last-minute assurances of compliance from Baghdad.

There was no sign of any such assurances yesterday, and the Iraqi ambassador to the UN, Nizar Hamdoon, appeared resigned to air strikes. "All indications are that [the US and Britain] are determined to launch air strikes, regardless of what the rest of the council feels, and that is bad," Mr Hamdoon told journalists at the UN's New York headquarters, where he met the secretary-general, Kofi Annan.

He said he had told Mr Annan "there was nothing else Iraq could do to add to the picture". A US government official in Washington said there was heavy diplomatic pressure from US allies in the Arab world to avoid military action during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, which begins this weekend.

Observers have been predicting for weeks that if Washington was to take action against Baghdad, it would have to take advantage of a narrow "window of opportunity" between Mr Clinton's visit to the Middle East and Ramadan.

It was thought that the president's historic appearance in Gaza would have been impossible in the wake of air



United Nations weapons inspectors evacuate their headquarters in Baghdad yesterday

strikes in view of widespread Palestinian sympathy for Iraq.

While the air strikes planned in November and December have been sustained over weeks, any raids on this occasion could be curtailed by the imminence of Ramadan.

At the UN yesterday, Russia launched a furious attack on Unscim's chairman, Richard Butler, for the negative tone of his report and for his decision to withdraw his inspectors without consulting the UN security council.

Sergei Lavrov, the Russian ambassador, called Mr Butler's report "outrageous", adding that if the Unscim chairman felt unable to do his job in Iraq, then he should look for another one.

In his report, Mr Butler concluded that Unscim "is not able to conduct the sub-

stantive disarmament work mandated to it by the security council".

No last-minute UN move was expected last night and Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, was last night rounding up support within the European Union where early hostility to bombing raids has receded in the face of Iraqi evasions.

Anxious to persuade a disengaged public that war serves direct national interests and security, Mr Blair said Baghdad's weapons programme of mass destruction threatens the whole world. Existing security council resolutions provide the necessary justification under international law, he and his officials insisted.

Saddam had engaged in a deliberate "plan of deceit" - delays, documents withheld,

growing restrictions - to prevent his weapons programme being discovered, Mr Blair and Mr Cook emphasised.

Mr Clinton was meeting yesterday evening with his secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, the secretary of defence, William Cohen, and the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Army General Henry Shelton.

The US has more than 200 aircraft and 20 warships armed with more than 400 cruise missiles stationed in the Gulf, including the aircraft carrier USS Enterprise. It also has 15 heavy B-52 bombers armed with air-launched cruise missiles on the British-run Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia.

'Indications are [the US and UK] are determined to launch air strikes, regardless of what the rest of the council feels'

Nizar Hamdoon, Iraqi ambassador to the UN

Iraq crisis, pages 4; Hugo Young, page 8; Leader comment, page 9

Attack may delay US vote

Martin Kettle in Washington

A LAST-MINUTE stay of execution in the impeachment crisis was dramatically on offer to President Clinton last night as Congressional leaders considered postponing the vote on the president's future until the latest Gulf crisis is resolved.

With the House of Representatives scheduled to vote on four impeachment charges today, the Republican House Speaker-elect, Bob Livingston, and his Democratic opposite number, Richard Gephardt, were reported to have reached "tentative agreement" to postpone the vote in the event of US military action against Iraq.

As the day wore on, Mr Clinton's impeachment had seemed to become a near certainty with previously undecided Republicans continuing to come out in favour of the four charges against him.

Postponement could pose organisational headaches for politicians on Capitol Hill, with the Christmas and New Year holidays imminent and

the current Congress due to be replaced on January 2.

But the mood in Washington suggested that war would take priority over the first presidential impeachment debate in the Congress since 1868.

"I think it would be awkward to have an impeachment vote during a bombing in Iraq," said House judiciary chairman Henry Hyde, who is scheduled to open the historic debate. But "there are those who think impeachment ought to proceed," he added.

"I think this president is shameless in what he will do to stay in office," said one Republican, Congresswoman Tillie Fowler, of Florida. "He will use our military and he will use our foreign policy to remain president. I do not put it past him."

Ms Fowler was a lone voice in articulating a possibility that many in both parties were cautious about dismissing out of hand - namely that Mr Clinton would launch an attack on Iraq in order to distract attention from his domestic predicament.

turn to page 2, column 1

Letters, page 9

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Belgium BF 70	Hungary F 200	Malta M 0.50	Sweden SK 1.50
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Sketch

Let your fingers do the war-making



Simon Hoggart

THE House of Commons went on to a war footing yesterday. In the past, this event came every few decades. Now it happens most weeks.

There is a ritual to these occasions. Mr Blair speaks slowly and solemnly. You can tell it's important because he uses the full range of hand gestures, as if his digital dexterity were enough to terrify Saddam into submission.

There is the claw, in which the fingers stretch out and land on the despatch box like a crab descending on a bottom-feeding fish. There is the fist, which thumps down with a stalling motion, as if the hand were grasping the handle of a knife.

Then there is the stiletto, where the right hand is clenched but the index finger is held down on his notes. And finally, the pet-s-cake, in which the hand is stretched out flat, descending gently but firmly on to the box, as if he were making sandcastles on the beach.

All these gestures were used many times. If Mr Blair had had a strong light behind him, the silhouette of a rabbit might have appeared on the opposite wall.

By tradition, it is the Leader of the Opposition who begins the war-making ritual, as firmly established as the Maori haka which the All Blacks use to scare their opponents. Mr Hague stands up and instead of producing his usual sarcastic sound he kicks into elder statesman mode.

"Can I assure you of our full support for the use of military action in the days ahead, provided that action has clear and achievable objectives," he said yesterday with outmoded solemnity.

It was the same tone of voice politicians have always used to send young men off to die, though slightly disconcerting

to see it from someone who, until so very recently, was in short trousers himself.

The Prime Minister then replies with the charge sheet, the longer the better, so that MPs can nod gravely at the gravity of Saddam's offences and their own wisdom for bringing him to account.

Mr Blair finishes by thanking the Opposition for their support. At this point, Mr Tony Benn is called to move the formal note of discord.

Bombing would be contrary to the UN Charter, he tells us. He goes on to add that it would be illegal in international law, would inflame the Middle East, and would cause the death of many innocent people — "200,000 of which were killed in the last Gulf war".

(I know these views will be echoed by many Guardian readers. However, I should point out that Mr Benn's statistics are sometimes not entirely reliable. During the build-up to the last Gulf war I found myself in a TV studio with him and Norman Stone. Mr Benn is a lecturer, and Professor Stone is not; indeed he had clearly been, for some time, what some of his Scottish compatriots describe as "sociable".

Mr Benn announced that some enormous number of civilians had already been killed by cruise missiles. Prof Stone demanded his source, and Mr Benn named "a reliable German newspaper".

The professor roared, sociably. "I read the entire German press, every day, and I have never heard of that newspaper!" he shouted. Mr Benn resumed a thoughtful silence.)

Yesterday Mr Benn concluded: "Why do you do everything you are told by President Clinton. Instead of supporting the charter, which has always been central to the policy of the party that you lead."

Ah, the party that Mr Blair leads! Now what would its name be again?

The Prime Minister replied with his usual courtesy. Past Labour leaders loathed and detested Mr Benn, and could barely speak to him through their clenched teeth.

It is a sign of his diminished influence that Mr Blair seems to find the task perfectly simple.

Review

Love, marriage and suffocation

Michael Billington

A Month in the Country

The Swan, Stratford-upon-Avon

PSYCHOLOGICAL drama or social comedy? Turgenev's only full-length play has elements of both. But in Brian Friel's free version and Michael Attenborough's new production it becomes a savagely sardonic comment on love and a natural companion-piece to the same company's *Trilussa* and *Cressida*.

"All love is a catastrophe," cries Rakitin, and so it seems when you look at the lousiest of lives down on the isle of country estate.

The key problem is that Islay's wife, Natalya, is hopelessly in love with her son's young tutor. The consequences are disastrous. The briefly bewitched tutor flees back to Moscow. Natalya's 17-year-old ward, in love with him herself, agrees to marry an selfish, illiterate landowner, Rakitin, the family friend who has long nursed a futile passion for Natalya. Finally packs his bags.

The only person who gains from this emotional tumult is the local doctor, who acquires three horses and a wagonette by acting as a squalid marriage broker.

Stanislavsky claimed the play "is built on the most delicate curves of love experience". Soviet critics saw it as a portrait of a decaying social order going rapidly downhill. Friel's version treats it,

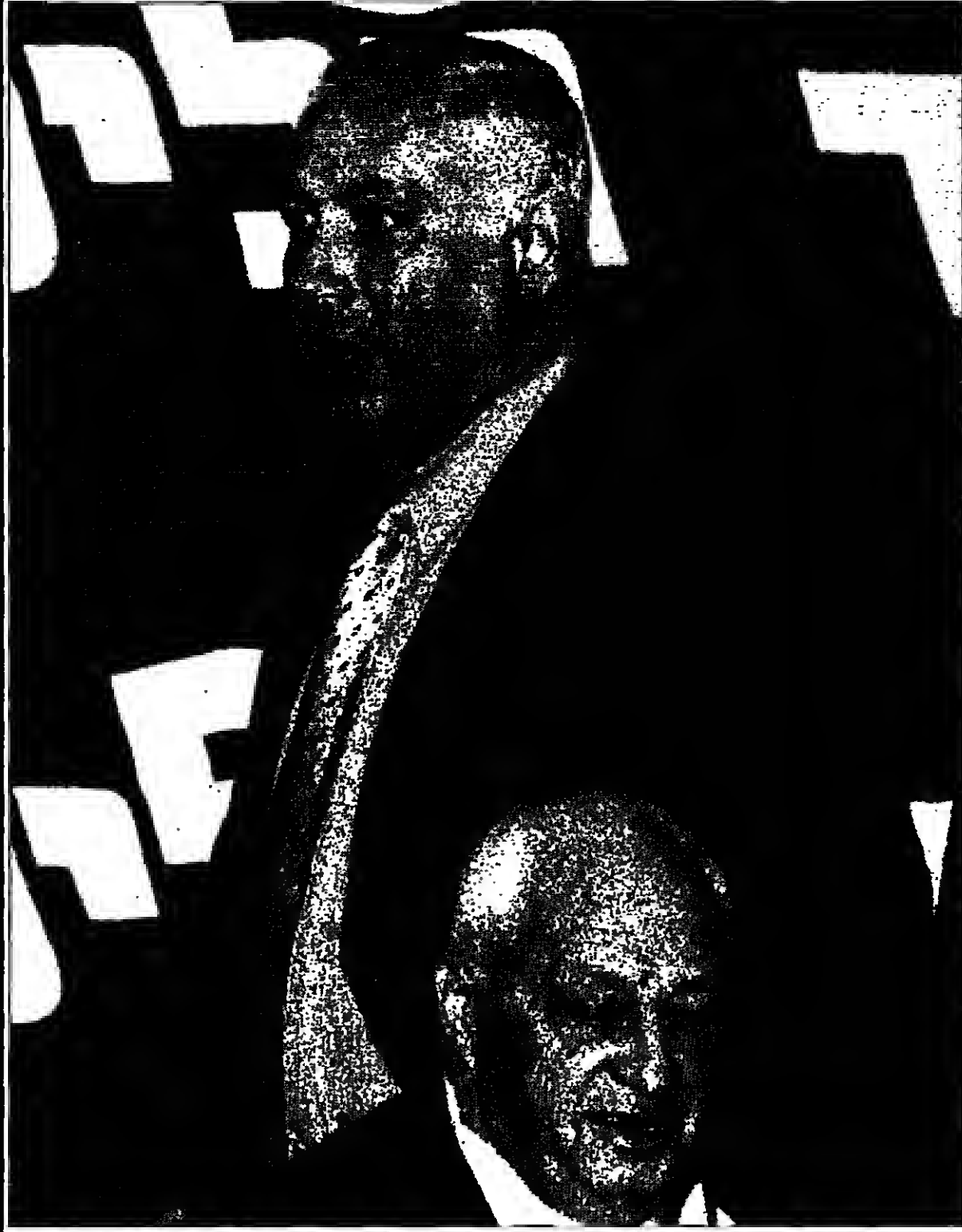
however, as an ironic picture of the chaos and confusion engendered by love. He even adds a speech at the end saying so. The problem with marital love, claims Natalya's mother-in-law, is that it rapidly becomes "another form of suffocation". The only happy ones in life are those who "love without reservation".

My own reservations about this production are very few. Friel spells out Turgenev's theme a little bluntly. And, as in his recent Dublin version of *Uncle Vanya*, he can't resist adding lots of jokes.

But the virtue of Attenborough's production is that it gives a way from the old idea of the piece as sub-Chekhov played by supernumeraries. Sara Stewart is a young, seductive, mad-about-the-boy Natalya driven to ratty fury by her impossible passion. Jack Tarlton's tutor — Paris to her Helen in *Trilussa* — is also a hit of a character who wouldn't mind a quick fling if circumstances permitted. Lloyd Hutchinson is also quite excellent as the buckster-doctor ready to sell Catherine Walker's betrayed ward down the river. And Sam Graham's Rakitin is not so much the usual supercilious man in line suit as a self-conscious lapdog who realises that "our lives dribble away in remorse".

Against Tom Piper's background of billowing white curtains, this is a sharp, stinging, totally un sentimental revival that captures exactly the torment and indignity of love.

This review appeared in some editions yesterday.



Benjamin Netanyahu on his way to announcing his ultimatum in Tel Aviv yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH BY SEVEN NACHSTRA

Netanyahu threatens poll over stalled peace

Scene Prusher in Jerusalem

THE Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, yesterday announced that he might have to dissolve his government and call fresh elections, threatening further delays to the Middle East peace process and freezing troop withdrawals from the West Bank.

Unable to sustain support for the hardline stance he is taking against the Palestinians, Mr Netanyahu has resigned as an assembly of more than 1,000 Palestinians who agreed to annul clauses of their charter calling for Israel's destruction. Mr Netanyahu said he would not withdraw troops from another portion of the West Bank tomorrow. Though the land handover is stipulated in the Wye accord timetable, Mr Netanyahu said the Palestinians had failed to fight terrorism and collect illegal arms.

These are what is needed by Israel at this time," Mr Netanyahu said yesterday, pleading for support of his decision to freeze Israeli implementation of the Wye River accord.

Labour has scoffed at suggestions of such a power-sharing scheme unless Mr Netanyahu adopts a much more conciliatory position in negotiations.

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FA's £3m was 'gift' to Wales, not loan

Week Chaudhary Sports Correspondent

THE scandal surrounding the £2.2 million given by the Football Association to its Welsh counterpart, which led to the resignation of FA chief executive Graham Kelly, intensified last night after the Welsh FA claimed that the money was not a loan but a gift.

David Collins, secretary general of the Welsh FA, said the money was to be used for the development of football in Wales and denied that it was given in return for securing its support for an English representative to FIFA, football's world governing body, as part of England's attempt to secure the 2006 World Cup finals.

Mr Collins said: "With regards to the reason for the gift from the FA... this money was to be used via the Football Trust by the FAW (Football Association of Wales) Football in the Community Trust to help promote and develop... football in Wales. In addition, the improvement of club grounds was also being envisaged."

Mr Collins said the Welsh FA approved the offer of "the gift" at its May meeting.

He added: "The council of the FAW unanimously approved the offer of the gift... The outcome of this was conveyed to the FA at the beginning of June."

Welsh officials are due to discuss the matter on Friday but Brian Fear, president of the Welsh FA, said yesterday that he knew nothing about the money until recent media coverage.

Keith Wiseman, the FA chairman and vice-chairman of Southampton football club — who, it is alleged, arranged the payment without the FA's knowledge — is due to discuss the events of the past few days to his club directors today.

A vote of no confidence was passed in Mr Wiseman on Wednesday when the FA executive committee met to discuss the affair. He is due to face a full hearing next month, when he is expected to resign.

The Irish Football Association (IFA) claimed yesterday that both Mr Kelly and Mr Wiseman met them before last May's FA Cup Final to try to get their support for the election of an English candidate as FIFA vice-president, instead of a Scottish one.

The post holder is responsible for representing the four home countries and could prove to be an influential figure during the campaign to decide which country will host the World Cup.

David Bowen, head of the IFA, said that the meeting took place over dinner at a west London hotel but that he refused to change sides.

He said last night: "The question that I want answered is why are the Welsh getting development money from the FA when we in Northern Ireland are not?"

Meanwhile, the ramifications of the scandal continued to be felt throughout English football yesterday with questions being raised over the nature of the loan and England's credibility in trying to secure the 2006 World Cup.

Sports minister Tony Banks insisted yesterday that the FA loan scandal and the World Cup bid were separate issues.

He said: "It's now been turned into a 2006 story when it was about the internal workings of the Football Association. The idea that this has derailed the World Cup bid just exists in the rather lurid imaginations of some of these journalists."

For some, however, the scandal may prove to be a blessing in disguise and may be the ideal opportunity to streamline the FA's top-heavy committee structure, which has in the past made it difficult to make decisions and implement them.

Sport, page 14

Scientists doubt baby clone claim

Jonathan Watts in Tokyo and Tim Radford in London

SOUTH Korean scientists yesterday claimed to have taken the first steps towards cloning a human being.

They provoked worldwide alarm by taking the technique that led last year to Dolly the sheep, cloned from a "mother" six years older by scientists at the Roslin Institute in Scotland — and applying it to a human cell and egg.

Researchers in Britain, Japan and the United States have cloned sheep, mice and cattle from adult cells. There are no federal funds for human embryo research in the US and embryo experiments in Britain are strictly controlled. The Roslin team has repeatedly ruled out the idea of cloning human babies.

It has described the idea as repugnant and dangerous. It took more than 200 attempts to produce Dolly.

But yesterday Lee Bo-yeon, of Kyunghee University in Seoul, said his team had cultivated a human embryo in its early stage from a single cell implanted in a woman's ovum. The operation was aborted long before the fertilised egg reached the uterus stage, to stay within guidelines established in Korea in 1993.

"Our experiment marked the first time the more reliable cloning technology has been applied to human cells and

might make human cloning more feasible," Dr Lee said.

The Korean researchers immediately triggered a barrage of condemnation — and of doubt. Protesters in Seoul called the research inhuman. Yukio Tanoda, the Japanese scientist who cloned twin calves, said: "I have never heard of such an experiment taking place and at the moment I don't believe it is true."

Harry Griffin, one of the team which produced Dolly, said the experiment was stopped before any proof had been established that the embryo had been reprogrammed.

"We do not believe the Korean group has sufficient scientific evidence to back their claim of having cloned a human embryo," he said. He also reacted angrily to Korean claims that the Scottish scientists had already done the same thing. "We have done no research on cloning with human cells."

Feeling that the technique might be used to clone humans were raised after Dolly was unveiled in February 1997, but some scientists have continued to argue that there might be a demand for human clones. Other researchers have argued that the technique could be used in the search for treatments for diseases.

A spokesman for Britain's Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority said the Korean research had not been submitted for review or published in a serious journal.

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THE CLAIMS:

Opinion pieces written under a false name at the height of the Bosnian war appeared to be part of an attempt to influence public opinion



Dominic Lawson: The Sunday Telegraph editor and former Spectator editor denies working for British Intelligence, despite being named in the Commons yesterday as a paid MI6 'asset' PHOTOGRAPH BY GARRY WEASER

The story of the spy and the Spectator

Richard Norton-Taylor

ARTICLES written by an MI6 officer under a false name were published in the Spectator magazine while Dominic Lawson was editor, the Guardian can disclose.

The articles, which included a bitter attack on British journalists, were written with a Sarajevo dateline under the name of Kenneth Roberts, during the civil war in Bosnia. The Spectator said at the end of the articles that the author's name "has been changed at his request". It did not say that the writer was an MI6 officer.

The Guardian yesterday faxed a series of detailed questions to Mr Lawson about the articles and their provenance. Last night he said: "You claim articles written by Kenneth Roberts were in fact written by an SIS [Secret Intelligence Service] officer. I have no means of knowing if you are right and, if you are, it is news to me."

The Foreign Office, which speaks on behalf of MI6, said it could not comment.

The MI6 articles appeared to be part of an attempt to influence public opinion during the Bosnian crisis by suggesting atrocities were being carried out by all sides — and not just Bosnian Serb troops.

Under Mr Lawson's editorship, the Spectator ran columns by Alan Judd, the alias of a senior MI6 officer who has left the service. It also claimed that Richard Gott, the Guardian's former literary editor, had been a KGB agent, which Mr Gott denied.

Mr Gott admitted he had accepted air tickets from the Russians and had told the security

services. He resigned immediately from the Guardian.

Two articles under the name of Kenneth Roberts were published in early 1994 — at the height of the civil war. In one article titled "Salvaging Conscience in Hampstead", Roberts is described as having worked "for the UN in Bosnia". He argued, it said, that "we should pull out now".

A month later, in March 1994, the MI6 officer wrote a second article under the heading, "Glamour Without Responsibility". In a passage now rich in irony, the Spectator noted: "Kenneth Roberts, who works with the UN forces in Bosnia, says that journalists should be held accountable for their actions."

In a reference to Kate Adie, one of the BBC's most respected reporters, the author stated: "The power of the modern journalist, especially the television journalist, is nowhere more apparent than in Bosnia." He added: "Emotion rather than political or practical interest drives the public opinion that steels Western governments to send troops. Unlike those governments, the press has no proper accountability for the consequences of its actions."

He referred to two highly

controversial incidents during the Bosnian war — the attack on a bread queue in Sarajevo in 1992, and the attack on a Sarajevo market in 1994.

"For some time now," Roberts told Spectator readers, "there have been UN mutterings about the Muslims shelling their own people in bread queues or markets." Journalists were accused of failing to investigate claims by the Bosnia Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, that the 66 deaths at the market were due to a Muslim attack.

The suggestion was that the Muslims fired on their own people to provoke NATO into taking tougher action against the Serbs. Both the United Nations and the Tory government in Britain were desperate to counter reports in the British and US media of attacks on civilians by Bosnian Serbs.

Atrocities, they insisted, were being carried by all sides, by Muslims and Croats as well as Serbs.

Douglas Hurd, then foreign secretary, was deeply concerned about the prospect of what he called "the first Muslim state in Europe". UN commanders were opposed to air strikes, arguing it would make it impossible to carry out their humanitarian mission.

THE EDITOR: After three years at the helm of the Sunday Telegraph, the serious but shy man remains aloof among staff

Audrey Gillen

ABAR in Shoreditch was an unlikely place to find Dominic Lawson last night but that's where the editor of the Sunday Telegraph chose to throw a Christmas party for his staff and contributors.

As they sipped their champagne and nibbled on the canapés made by the Aga Khan's chef, the guests greeted the allegations that Lawson was an MI6 spook with much mirth and little satire. Even Lawson may have been making jokes about it. For the man many have described as aloof sometimes has a self-deprecating sense of humour.

Dominic Ralph Campden Lawson celebrates his 42nd birthday today amid a flurry of speculation about his involvement with the security service. The man who has been editor of the Sunday Telegraph since October 1995 would have probably preferred to mark the day some other way. Instead, he will no doubt be in the same type of crisis meetings that were held yesterday.

Lawson has always been a mischief-maker, famously making a secret tape of Nicholas Ridley ranting on about the Germans. The Tory minister was forced to resign two days later.

As editor of the Spectator for five years, Lawson raised

circulation and a few eyebrows beside: he was accused of sensationalising, even vulgarising, the genteel, conservative weekly.

Since his arrival at the 14th floor of Canary Wharf, Lawson has recast the newspaper. News stories are strong, colour writing is out, comment is driven and many think it is a better product for it. But a great deal of people at the paper have spoken about their editor's difficulties in dealing with them. Some have been reduced to tears, others dismissed.

Step into his office and it is immediately clear that the man described by his sister, the journalist Nigella Law-



Nigella Lawson describes brother as 'talented bully'

son, as a "talented bully" with "unspeakable dress sense" is a dedicated family man. His walls are adorned by black and white portraits of his wife Rosa Monckton,

the managing director of Tiffany's, the Bond Street jewellers, and little drawings made by his children.

The couple's youngest child, Domenica, was born with Down's syndrome and Lawson has written passionately on the issue of abortion and his daughter's right to life.

Diana, Princess of Wales, was one of Domenica's six godparents and one of Ms Monckton's closest friends. In the months after her death, Lawson became increasingly concerned about the branding of the princess and wrote that she was being treated as a "mere commodity".

The son of Lord Lawson, the former Tory chancellor, he loves to keep his mark firmly on the paper and steer its agenda towards his own likes and dislikes.

The man who once said he had a "very good second rate mind", rather than a "first or third rate, reads almost all of

the copy that goes into the paper, each word on printed drafts because he feels disinclined to come to grips with the paper's antiquated computer system.

On a Tuesday morning he summons his reporters into his room at 11.15am and one by one asks what they will be working on that week. It fills the journalists with dread and the feeling that they are being summoned before the headmaster.

Sometimes Lawson is serious, sometimes he chortles away, sometimes he will knock a story down with a throwaway line like: "Do our readers really care about the poor?" Often, he plays to the old fogey stereotype that is his image.

Last night he would have had difficulty mingling — often his solitary figure can be seen sitting in the staff canteen because he is too shy to approach a table of reporters.

GLAMOUR WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY

Kenneth Roberts, who works with the UN forces in Bosnia, says that journalists should be held accountable for their actions

One of two Spectator articles written by 'Kenneth Roberts'

The covert cast of 'friends'

SPIES:

Intelligence officers rely on unofficial, undercover agents to use highly prized access to pass on information

Richard Norton-Taylor

FROM their lavish Terry Farrell-designed headquarters at Vauxhall Cross overlooking the Thames in central London, officers of the Secret Intelligence Service, more commonly known as MI6, run covert operations "in support" as the official Whitehall handbook puts it, "of Her Majesty's Government's security, defence, foreign and economic policies".

The handbook, Central Intelligence Machinery, blandly adds that MI6 uses "a variety of sources, human and technical". These include their opposite numbers and other well-placed individuals in foreign countries — friend and foe. They also include journalists, British businessmen, and even, on occasion, MPs.



MI6's lavish headquarters in central London

though officially only with the Foreign Secretary's approval. MI6 officers — or the "friends" as they are known in the Foreign Office — enjoy extraordinary freedom to bribe, seduce and cajole. The 1994 Intelligence Services Act protects them from liability for actions abroad which would be illegal in Britain.

Ministers have rubbished allegations that MI6 officers drew up plans to assassinate President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia and Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, but Richard Tomlinson and David Shayler, the former MI6 and MI5 officers now in exile, insist they are true.

In what used to be called the "great game", many governments tell each other the name of the chief official spy they have posted to each other's capitals. But the key to a foreign intelligence service's

work is access. That is why they use people MI6 calls approved "unofficial agents", "sleeper agents" or "sources" — working under cover as businessmen, for example — and why they have sometimes disguised their own officers as journalists, salesmen or United Nations officials.

And there are authorised and unauthorised operations. Foreign Office ministers did not know that Paul Henderson, managing director of the Matrix Churchill machine tool firm, passed information to MI6 about what Saddam Hussein was up to until Customs decided to prosecute him for allegedly breaching export controls.

This year Robin Cook went out of his way to praise the work of MI6 as well as GCHQ, the Government's eavesdropping centre. "They save lives by tracking terrorist groups

... They have played a crucial role in revealing Saddam Hussein's biological and chemical weapons programmes," the Foreign Secretary said.

Certainly, they have had successes — ironically, Mr Tomlinson was directly involved in some spectacular ones, including the disruption of a Middle Eastern country's chemical weapons procurement network and obtaining information about Russian weapons systems.

A new book, Britain's Secret Propaganda War, 1948-1977, by Paul Lashmar and James Oliver, shows how MI6 was involved in planting information in both the foreign and British media with the help of the FO's coily named Information Research Department, as well as undermining foreign governments, notably that of President Sukarno of Indonesia in the early 1960s.

This year the Government openly used information from MI6 and other intelligence agencies to publicise the atrocities of Saddam's regime. But MI6 also uses undercover methods to get articles published when there is no way of knowing whether they are true.

There is a difference between using information openly acknowledged to be from intelligence sources, and MI6 abusing journalists (and readers) to spread its propaganda with information that cannot be verified.

It must be worse when agents of intelligence agencies write articles for newspapers under aliases or when they go abroad under journalistic cover.

Consummate (Cockney) ME. [- Fr. quintessence,

quinte essence - med. fifth essence.] 1. The 'fifth essence' of any body, supposed to be the substance of which the heavenly bodies were composed. 2. The most refined essence of any older chemistry, an alcoholic tincture obtained by distillation. 3. The purest of the quality 1570. c. The most perfect embodiment of persons, etc. 1590. 4. The highest perfection or liable to sin; (of things) surpassing so impressively. Quintessence n. The form or manifestation

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ESTABLISHED 1820



The Quintessential Port.

Dr. J. L. 10.15.20



The Guardian's Christmas appeal offers readers the opportunity to donate to up to eight charities. Today **Amelia Gentleman** looks at the work of the Walsall Carers' Centre

Finding a life outside the daily struggle

IRIS Ordridge has not had any sort of social life for almost 38 years. She reveals this casually and without resentment — this is the kind of sacrifice most full time carers have to make.

Now that she is over 70, she admits wistfully she would like to be able to go out for a meal or to the theatre occasionally, while she can. Instead she and her husband are effectively housebound, caring 24 hours a day for their son Kevin, born brain damaged by thalidomide.

Until recently they coped alone, struggling against the loneliness and the profound sense of isolation which inevitably accompany the responsibilities of full time caring — responsibilities which have been growing as the couple gets older.

"Very few of my neighbours will talk to Kevin in the street — which is very hurtful for both of us," she says. "We can go for months and months without anyone talk-

ing to him. They don't mean to be unkind, but they're embarrassed and ignore him."

"It has been hard because he can't communicate well. We have felt very isolated."

Studies regularly reveal that Britain's carers are overworked and undervalued. Research suggests that carers save the National Health Service as much as £34 billion a year.

These people desperately need support, which is often best provided at grassroots level. The opening of the Walsall Carers' Centre two years ago has given local carers much-needed assistance and markedly improved the quality of the Ordridges' lives.

Monthly meetings there have put Mrs Ordridge in touch with other people who have devoted their lives to caring, and trained advisers have been offered help on where to find support.

Through the centre — a winner of the Guardian Jerwood Prize, based in a converted



Iris Ordridge (left) and Shirley Molyneux, who both care for adult children at home

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK SCOTT

church in Walsall, West Midlands — Mrs Ordridge met Shirley Molyneux, 61, a widow whose daughter Rachel, 21, suffers from cerebral palsy and also needs constant attention. The two have discovered that sharing their problems brings unexpected relief.

Full time caring is fraught with demanding responsibilities. These are pressures that can arrive suddenly, when a partner becomes ill or when a child is born with disabilities, or can creep up imperceptibly, as parents gradually become infirm or a debilitating disease grows more serious.

Like most carers, both play down the difficulties but admit it has not been easy.

"There are times when you get very wound up, when the person you are caring for has had a bad day, and has taken it out on you," Mrs Ordridge says. "I used to put my coat on and walk the streets, but coming here and talking to other people is a better way of winding down."

Mrs Molyneux adds that it

took her years before she adapted to her life as a carer. "Before Rachel was born I was out almost every night. You do miss out on your social life, which is why this new centre has been good for us all," she said.

One of the fears they have in common is a growing anxiety about what will happen to their children when they are no longer able to devote their lives to them. Through the carers' centre they have been put in touch with experts and have begun to investigate the options.

"It is becoming harder to cope with Kevin and we have been extremely worried about what will happen to him after we're gone. Before this centre opened I wouldn't have known who to ask," Mrs Ordridge said.

Richard Hilton, co-ordinator of the Walsall Carers' Centre, stresses why the country's carers need support. "Carers are saving government a vast amount of money,

The charity

There are 6 million carers in Britain — approximately one in eight adults is a carer. About 750,000 people are responsible for looking after someone 24 hours a day.

The Princess Royal Trust for Carers estimated that carers save the Government about £34 billion a year. Without them, the NHS and community care could not function.

In a survey, more than a third of carers reported that no one helped them to

look after their dependants.

Like other carers' centres across the country, the Walsall centre provides information, a listening ear, counselling and support; helps to find respite care or practical help in the home; and acts on behalf of the carer when negotiating with social services and other service providers.

Many full time carers are unaware of the support to which they are entitled. The centre seeks out carers

to tell them which services they should make use of.

Carers outside Walsall should contact the Princess Royal Trust for Carers on 0171 480 7788, who will put them in touch with one of the other 80 centres around the country.

"Every donation, no matter how modest, will help in our efforts to find more carers and provide them with the help and support they deserve," Richard Hilton, the centre's co-ordinator, says.

The Guardian Christmas Charity Appeal

To make a donation to the Guardian Christmas Charity Appeal phone with a credit or debit card or complete the form below

Call 0990 199 515

Call cost less than a first class stamp

I wish to donate £10 ☐ £25 ☐ £50 ☐ Other £

to the Guardian Christmas Charity Appeal.

I would like my donation to go to:

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Family Service Units ☐
Sail Association ☐
To be distributed between the five winning charities from the Guardian Jerwood Award ☐
To be distributed among the above ☐

Please include a cheque, CAF charity account cheque or postal order (made payable to the Guardian), or complete credit/debit card details below. Please note that we are unable to accept Switch payments.

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Expiry date

Mr/Ms/Miss/Ms Initial(s)

Surname

Address

Postcode

Please tick box if you would like to receive information from the Guardian or the charities in this appeal ☐

Please send the completed coupon with your donation to:

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Please do not send cash. Please note that credit card donations incur a small bank charge that will be deducted from your donation. Calls charged at national rates. Lines open 24 hours a day until 03/01/99

GD/MS

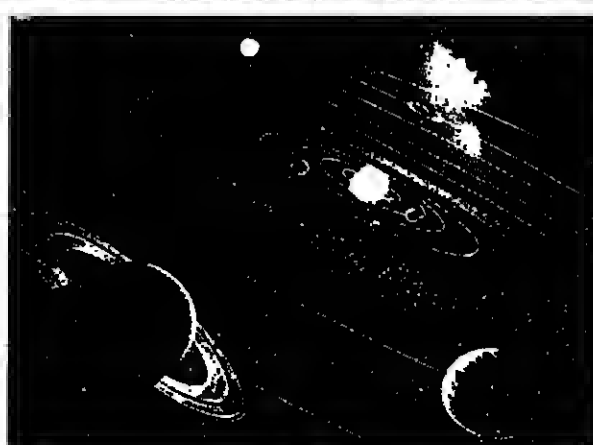


What's in

- ☐ Shakespeare composing his sonnets
- ☐ The Earl of Sandwich making the sandwich
- ☐ Compassion of Florence Nightingale and, later, Mother Theresa
- ☐ John Logie Baird inventing television
- ☐ Moon landing (above)
- ☐ Fall of the Berlin wall
- ☐ End of Apartheid
- ☐ Edward the Confessor building the first Westminster Abbey
- ☐ Michelangelo painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel
- ☐ Sir Walter Raleigh introducing the potato



The carved statues on Easter Island, which figure prominently in the commercial for the millennium celebrations



What's out

- ☐ Copernicus's cosmology in which the earth revolves around the sun (above)
- ☐ Newton's apple and the theory of gravity
- ☐ Darwin's Origin of Species and evolution
- ☐ The Industrial Revolution and the invention of the steam engine
- ☐ Magna Carta or the Battle of Hastings
- ☐ The arrival of ITV's News at Ten
- ☐ The Suffragettes and women's emancipation
- ☐ The explosion of the Internet

All in a day's work: packing 1,000 years into 10 minutes

Janine Gibson
Media Correspondent

HUMANITY'S greatest achievements of the last 1,000 years have been summarised in a one-minute film as part of a 22 million advertising campaign for Britain's millennium celebrations.

Set against the backdrop of

the sun rising and falling over the Easter Island statues, believed to be 1,000 years old themselves, the commercial tells the story of the last millennium as a series of 10 human achievements, as if they occurred in one day.

So, a voice-over by Jeremy Irons tells us that as the sun rises, Westminster Abbey was consecrated in 1066. Later in this morning, Michelangelo

completes the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and Sir Walter Raleigh hands the potato to Britain in time for lunch.

Perhaps the most surprising inclusion in the list is the invention of the sandwich — although the explanation might be the convenience of its coinciding with tea-time in the one day historical timeframe.

The Government-funded New Millennium Experience Company has spent months researching landmark events of the last 1,000 years, in order to compile a controversial top 10 list for the commercial.

Sholto Douglas-Horne, marketing director of the NMEC, said: "We want to spark a debate in the home and in the media. We are asking people

to reflect on all that has been achieved in the last 1,000 years, and we do not pretend our list is complete."

The commercial, which cost £250,000 to make, will be broadcast during the Christmas period, with the aim of provoking debate over what should have been included in the list of human achievements.

A spokesman for the New

Millennium Experience Company, which commissioned the commercial from M&C Saatchi, said yesterday: "The idea is to get people thinking about the millennium as the next thousand years, not just the next hundred, and to imagine what can be achieved."

It is not, NMEC emphasised, an advertising campaign for the Greenwich

dome. A specific dome campaign will be launched in September 1999.

The landmark events finally selected by the advertising agency had been rigorously market-researched from a longer list. Those left out include the signing of Magna Carta, the battle of Hastings, the efforts of the female suffragettes — and the launch of News at Ten. The

NMEC spokesman said that the 10 selected events aimed to reflect a spread of arts, sciences, invention, human achievement and important cultural developments around the world.

Six research groups had been asked to rate events in terms of their popular significance and to rate people in terms of their recognisable achievement.

Atom plants told to act on safety or risk disaster

Paul Brown
Environment Correspondent

NUCLEAR waste stored at 22 sites in the UK containing plutonium, the world's most dangerous substance, is in danger of leaking, the Government's safety experts say in an unpublished report. In one case, at Sellafield in Cumbria, there is a risk of an uncontrolled nuclear reaction.

Work costing more than £2 billion has been ordered to safeguard workers and the public from radioactive contamination at the British Nuclear Fuels plant at Sellafield.

All eight old Magnox nuclear

stations need remedial work, along with the nuclear weapons plant at Aldermaston in Berkshire and the UK Atomic Energy Authority site at Harwell in Oxfordshire, the Nuclear Installations Inspectorate says.

The report was ordered by the Health and Safety Executive into the condition of 70,000 cubic metres of what is known as intermediate level waste, or ILW. It is the legacy of Britain's nuclear weapons programme, nuclear reactor development, and reprocessing of spent fuel. Some of it as been in store 50 years.

Concern grew after the cancellation of the proposed nuclear waste repository at Sella-

field by John Gummer, when he was environment secretary. The report warns that stores containing plutonium waste are crumbling and some of the waste could explode — and, in one case, go "critical" — the technical term for an uncontrollable nuclear reaction like the disastrous one at Chernobyl in the Ukraine in 1986.

The Inspectorate's report is due to be published in January but a copy was placed in the House of Lords library after it was given to a Lords committee looking into nuclear waste.

At Sellafield, it says "some of the older facilities are in poor structural condition and not fit for their purpose". The rush to produce nuclear

weapons meant "waste management and environmental issues were low priorities... [leaving] a substantial legacy of raw, ie, untreated radioactive waste". The report reveals that there have been overheating problems due to hydrogen release and leakage of radioactive contaminated water into the ground. "Only 15 per cent of the raw ILW has been conditioned into a passive safe state."

The strongest concern is for plutonium-contaminated waste stored in 200 litre drums, filters, and crates in old and disused facilities. "The crates represent the greater potential hazard as in some cases the plutonium

content and form and internal geometry have never been established with any degree of confidence." Some buildings in which plutonium waste is stored are in such poor condition that "waste retrieval is an immediate priority". The Inspectorate estimates the life of the buildings to be five years.

In another building there are doubts about the strength of the roof beams holding a number of stainless steel tanks with liquid waste. "The large volumes of combustible radioactive waste in this facility present a significant potential hazard to the public, workforce, and the environment, and requires careful management to ensure the risks continue to be acceptable."

The Inspectorate is also critical of nuclear waste stores at the Magnox stations recently taken over by BNFL and says new stores will have to be built at all eight. Radioactive sludge at Aldermaston also gives concern, because of potential leaks.

The privatised contractor Hunting-Brae has been asked to take urgent action.

BNFL said in a statement: "We are aware that some of the waste needs urgent repackaging as the Inspectorate points out, we already have programmes to address this under way... We will work closely with the regulator to ensure the safety of retrieval operations."

Douglas Hogg claims Major 'ignored' BSE warnings

James Melkie

PRIME minister John Major and other cabinet ministers helped make the 1996 BSE crisis worse by refusing to implement sufficiently tough emergency measures, his former agriculture minister, Douglas Hogg, said yesterday.

He suggested that the 33-month export ban might have been avoided if government colleagues had accepted his programme, including a ban on all beef from cattle over 30 months old being allowed into food either at home or abroad.

A minute of one meeting

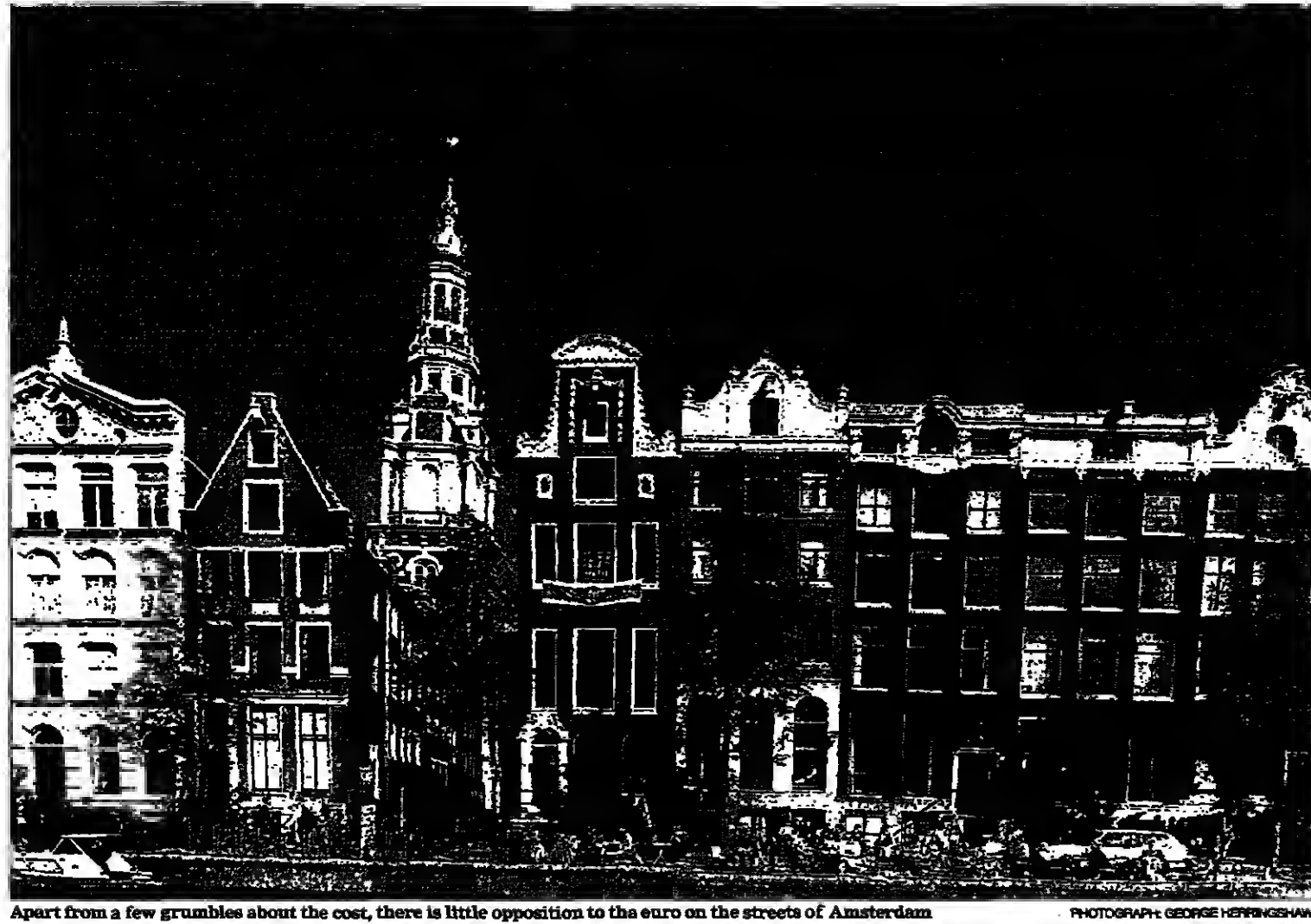
revealed that Mr Major "took the view... that the risk of contracting CJD was considerably less than the risks of contracting lung cancer, for example, but the government had not only failed to ban smoking it had failed to ban even the advertising of smoking."

Giving evidence of the BSE inquiry in south London, Mr Hogg said that because of opposition to his policy proposals from Mr Major and other cabinet colleagues, he had no option but to get on with the business of introducing the action chosen by them — even though he believed it was mistaken.

Dutch stance on a single currency

By Peter van der Meer, Amsterdam

THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT has been criticised for its stance on the introduction of the euro. A few right-wing politicians have criticised the government's position, but the vast majority of the Dutch population is in favour of the single currency. The government's stance is based on the fact that the Netherlands is a small country with a high standard of living. The government believes that the euro will help to maintain this standard of living. The government also believes that the euro will help to create a more stable economic environment in Europe. The government's stance is based on the fact that the Netherlands is a small country with a high standard of living. The government believes that the euro will help to maintain this standard of living. The government also believes that the euro will help to create a more stable economic environment in Europe.



Apart from a few grumbles about the cost, there is little opposition to the euro on the streets of Amsterdam

PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE HERRINGSHAW



Continuing our series counting down to the launch of the European single currency, **Jon Henley** tests the water in Amsterdam

Birth of the euro

Even Queen Beatrix wants her face off the coins

FOUR hundred years ago Amsterdam was the proud capital of the wealthiest country on earth, a city awash with silks and spices brought home by merchants who had travelled the world. So great was the Netherlands' might that Samuel Pepys confided, rather indecately, to his diary: "Me thinks, by God, the devil must shift Dutchmen."

That was a long time ago. Since then the Dutch have been trampled over many times by belligerent neighbours. In peace, they have tailored their ambitions to their more modest weight in the world, combining their mercantile tradition and the asset of their geographical position to become the middlemen for a continent.

The latest survey found that 74 per cent of the Dutch and 84 per cent of their companies are in favour of the euro.

"It's a very straightforward question, and just about every Dutch person realises it," said Ton Havermans, aged 39, an Amsterdam grain dealer. "We're a small country surrounded by bigger countries, so we've always been pro-Europe. But above all, we are a trading nation and a nation of pragmatists. It will be a hassle, but it will save us one hell of a lot of money."

Beatrix, their bicycle-riding queen, summed up what most Dutch think of the euro. In the cause of a single currency she said, she would be more than happy to see her face disappear from Dutch coins and banknotes. It is no accident that the two treaties that paved the way for the euro were signed in Maastricht and Amsterdam, or that the first governor of the European central bank, Wim Duisenberg, is a Dutchman.

And if the Dutch needed reminding of what is at stake, a government brochure spells it out: more than half of what the Netherlands produces each year is destined for export — two-thirds of it to members of the European Union — and two-thirds of its imports come from the EU.

In the Netherlands these days, they say, you make your money in Rotterdam, the world's largest port, talk about it in The Hague, and spend it in Amsterdam. On the chilly canalside streets of the capital,

outside the 17th-century merchants' houses long ago converted into beamed flats or prestigious offices, it is hard to find any spenders with a serious objection to the euro. But some have a few very Dutch grumbles.

"I'd like to know how much it's all going to cost us," said Marijke Andreas, a doctor's assistant, aged 28. "I know it's supposed to save us money in the end, but all the computers and cash dispensers and tills that have to be changed, even things like parking meters — I'll bet we'll end up paying."

Marc van der Pols, a 24-year-old law student, had more questions. "They're not exactly things I lose sleep over, but there's a lot we don't know yet: how much shops are going to round prices up by, how you'll be able to fill in a tax form in euros, even how you're supposed to write the euro symbol. I'll all take work."

The amount of work involved worries small businesses. Their association, MKB, has produced a 150-point checklist for firms, which includes details of accounting, automation, billing, taxation and giro payments. It has also advised them to start work now, even though many will not be affected for another three years. Although the international financial institutions will be dealing in euros, on paper at least, by January 1, it will be 2002 before the man in the European street has euros in his wallet.

"It is going to be a headache," said Wubbe van Oord, aged 46, who runs a grocery store. "At the moment, we can all continue to pay suppliers in guilders if we want until 2002. But my biggest worry is the time it will take customers to adjust."

In fact, about the biggest euro-debate in the Netherlands is about how the coins and bank-notes should be introduced when they come into circulation. The banks want a one-month overlap with the guilder, while retailers and small businesses insist on the euro and nothing but the euro from January 1.

"An overlap is pointless," said Mr van Oord. "There's such a publicity blitz around the euro that everyone knows what it is and how much it's worth already. By 2002, they'll just want to get on with it."

Why I hate the euro

Arjo Klamer, professor of cultural economics at Erasmus University, Rotterdam, is one of the few dissenting Dutch voices.

I AM against it because it is an anti-social and undemocratic project. There is a taboo here on talking negatively about the euro and European integration. What should have been a genuine debate has been stifled by this and previous governments.

It is anti-social because it favours banks and big business. And it is undemocratic because it is being rammed through with no real debate. The average Dutchman has no idea what is going on.

The euro is a political process that has to do with the



Klamer: Euro is anti-social relationship between France and Germany. I believe the euro has come too quickly. Europe is not ready.

Why I love it

Prime minister Wim Kok, now in his second term, has never doubted the benefits of a single currency.

AS LONG ago as 1957, six European countries, including Holland, agreed to work together towards forming a common market. They realised that economic co-operation would reduce the chance of war and that trade would lead to prosperity.

Gradually, there was to be free and unhindered traffic of goods, services, people and capital. Those objectives have now been reached and the original group of six has become a European Union of 15. The only remaining major barrier to trade within the European Union is exchange rate uncertainty and currency



Kok: Everyone will benefit costs. The euro will help remove this. Everyone — and especially the people of the Netherlands, with its economy so focused abroad — will benefit.

Wise men.

(And women.)

Follow the star.

Look out for special 24 packs of Hofmeister cans in

July 10 1999

Turks angry as Italian court frees Kurdish leader

John Hooper in Rome and Chris Morris in Ankara

ABDULLAH Ocalan, the Kurdish guerrilla leader whose arrest triggered a diplomatic crisis between Europe and Turkey, was freed by an Italian appeal court yesterday.

The Italian prime minister, Massimo D'Alema, said Mr Ocalan would be kept under police surveillance and not allowed to leave Italy. "What happened this morning has not changed the scenario," he said, adding that a decision whether to try Mr Ocalan or expel him would be made within the next few days.

But the last thing the leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) wants is to leave Italy. The worry for the Kurds is that Rome will expel Mr Ocalan rather than give him asylum.

"He wants to initiate a political process together with the European Union," and he thinks that he stands a better chance of doing that in Italy," said a PKK spokesman.

Ocalan arrived in Italy on November 12 with two warrants outstanding against him: from Germany and Turkey. Turkey's request was rejected because Italy does not grant extradition to countries with the death penalty.

Yesterday the president of the court, Tommaso Figiuzzi, said the German warrant was not valid because Germany had replaced the original, international warrant with one that meant Mr Ocalan could be detained only if he went to Germany.

The Turkish government sought legal clarification of the decision. The defence minister, Ismet Sezgin, said that if Mr Ocalan had been freed with no conditions "then this is a desperate mistake".

"It will damage Turkey's relations with Italy and harm international law."

He accused Italy of violating international conventions against terrorism and said he would raise the Ocalan issue at a meeting of Nato defence ministers in Brussels today.

Others in Turkey were more circumspect, awaiting

an explanation of exactly what the Italian decision means. Official sources described as encouraging a statement by the Italian foreign minister Lamberto Dini, that Mr Ocalan would either be put on trial or expelled from Italy.

But there was no disguising the bitterness in Ankara about Mr Ocalan's treatment since he arrived in Rome last month. "Even before this decision, he was effectively free any way," the deputy prime minister, Bulent Ecevit, said.

"It's not a surprise to us. He was free to talk to anyone and he has been living like a lord." Mr Ocalan is wanted in Turkey on treason charges. He has said he would agree to stand trial if the international community also agreed to hold a conference to try to solve the Kurdish question and help find a peace settlement between Turkey and the Kurds.

Italy has asked for a European solution to the Ocalan issue and is seeking to have him tried under a 1972 European convention.



A relative of one of the victims is comforted as rescuers recover a body from the rubble

PHOTOGRAPH: PLANO LEPPA

30 feared dead in collapsed building

John Hooper in Rome

TWO people were found alive last night in the wreckage of a block of flats in Rome which appeared to have crumbled to the ground. Rescuers feared that the death toll could rise to more than 30.

Last night the state-owned radio network RAI reported that the number of confirmed deaths had reached 19.

The disaster occurred shortly after 3am. One witness said it sounded as if a bomb had gone off, but a fire services inspector, Liborio Pilato, ruled out any sort of blast.

Other rescue workers speculated that the five-storey block, which had a print works in the basement, may have collapsed because of structural weakness or land subsidence.

It was thought that about 35 people were asleep when the structure gave way.

A young firefighter collapsed in shock when his parents and one of his brothers were found dead in the rubble.

Rescuers offered little hope of finding more survivors, but as dark fell a man and a woman, both thought to be in their sixties, were pulled out.



Leone Calvi by his brother Roberto's coffin yesterday

Police open tomb to solve mystery of 'God's banker'

Philip Willan in Drezzo

THE sound of hammering echoed around a normally quiet village cemetery yesterday as the Italian authorities exhumed the body of Roberto Calvi, in an attempt to solve a 16-year-old mystery.

Known as "God's banker" for his close business relationship with the Vatican bank, Calvi was found hanging from scaffolding under Blackfriars Bridge in London on June 18 1982. Investigators hope an examination of the body, using the latest scientific techniques, will establish if he was murdered shortly before the collapse of the Banco Ambrosiano, Italy's largest private bank, of which he was chairman.

As workmen pried open the tomb, his son Carlo and brother Leone looked on, part of the group of officials, forensic scientists and police in Drezzo, a picturesque hamlet near a hill-top which marks the border with Switzerland. The Calvis used to own a holiday home here and their private chapel housing the tomb is the most imposing in the cemetery.

The coffin was sealed before being driven to the Institute of Forensic Medicine in Milano. Experts are due to begin examining the body today but are not expected to reach any conclusions before Christmas.

The examination was ordered by Ottavio Lupacchini, a Rome judge. He declined to say what the experts would be looking for. But he has asked the experts to try to discover if Calvi was conscious when he was strung up under Blackfriars

Bridge. One of the experts, the anthropologist Luigi Capasso, has been working on the 5,000-year-old remains of Ötzi, the Iceman whose mummified body emerged seven years ago from an Alpine glacier.

The Calvi case has come to symbolise the complex web of intrigue that linked the Vatican to discredited politicians, unscrupulous businessmen and organised crime during the cold war years in Italy.

For Carlo Calvi, a Montreal-based financier, it was his first return to Drezzo since the year his father died. "This is extremely traumatic from a human point of view, but it is a positive sign of judicial activism," he said. "I'm confident that a new autopsy will be useful, though the evidence of state's witnesses still offers the most promising leads."

Former Mafia claim that Calvi was the victim of an alliance between Cosa Nostra, the Neapolitan Camorra and members of a Rome underworld grouping called the Magliana Band, because he had misappropriated Mafia funds.

But his son believes the real motive lay in political opposition to his father's rescue plan for the Banco Ambrosiano.

"The Magliana Band was the military arm of those who were opposed to my father," he said. "My father's death delayed the start of Italy's anti-corruption drive by about 12 years. His death sent out a clear message. Whoever was capable of shedding light on the ties between politics, business and organised crime decided it was better to remain silent."



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Comment

Diary

Matthew Norman

AT the BBC, mischievous rumours surround Cliff Richard. Cliff's television Christmas Special was recently cancelled after a fortune (possibly as much as £350,000; enough, anyway, for several new Range Rovers for Mrs Birt) had been spent. The official reason was a spot of laryngitis, but some suspect he became displeased with the perky tone of the show was assuming. Whichever — and the BBC press office claims that it has merely been postponed and will be shown in the New Year — this was very bad news for Cliff, who was desperate to plug his Christmas single now that no DJ will play his records. So the singer had his people contact Noel's House Party to offer his services. This offer was rejected, not because Noel Edmonds didn't want him — Mr Edmonds would put Arthur Askey's corpse on his show if he thought it would rescue his ratings — but because the BBC, furious at the waste of money, has imposed a blanket ban. Banned on radio, banned on television... how much longer can it be before Sir Cliff Richard becomes the next cult underground figure?

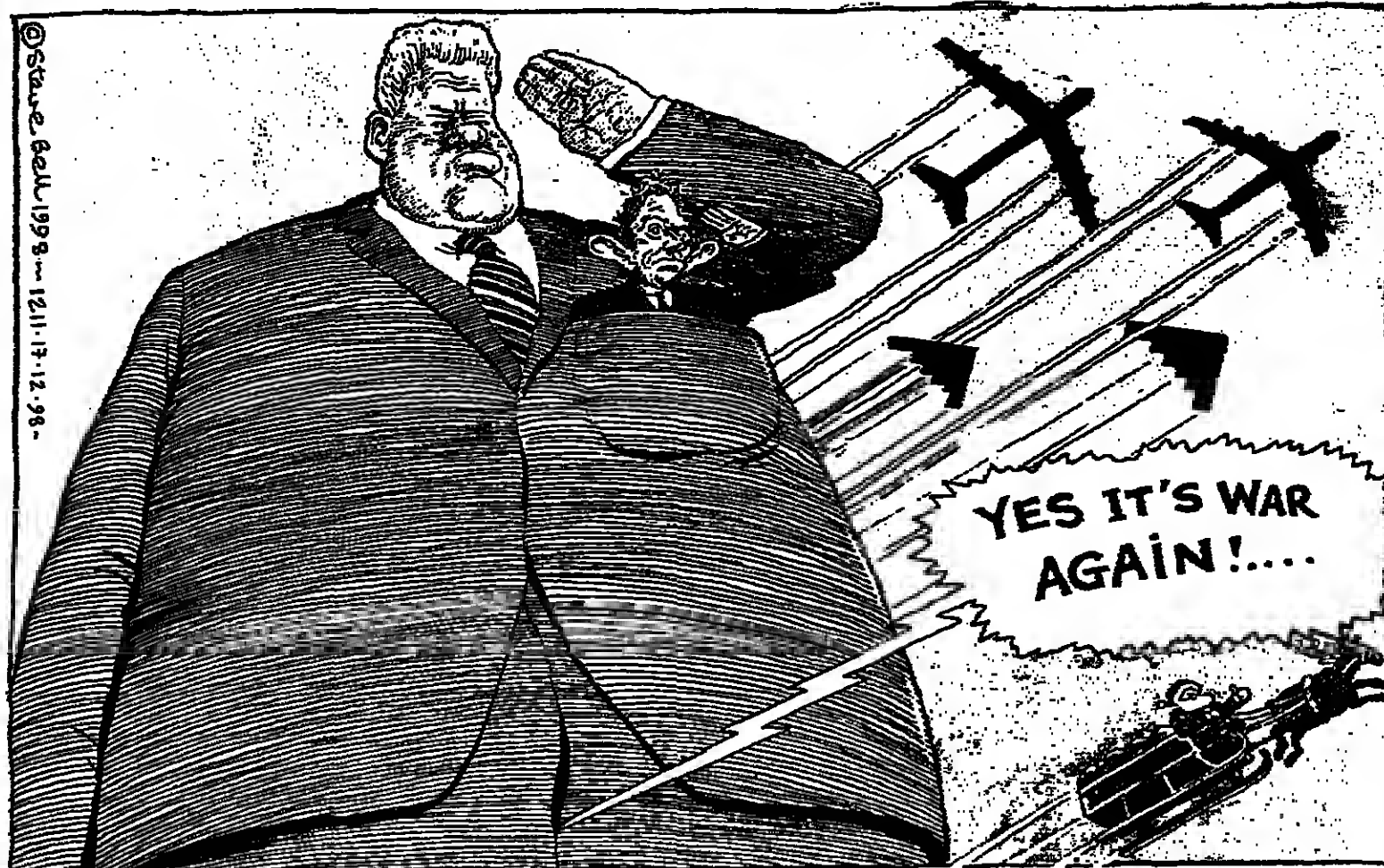
MEANWHILE, we hear yet another up-setting rumour about Sir Cliff. These days, it is claimed, whenever it begins to rain at one of his outdoor concerts, he starts playing tennis. Whatever is the matter with him?

FROM one knighted pop star with a gift for repulsively pious Christmas singles to another. So popular with a taxi firm used by the BBC is Bob Geldof, we gather, that of the 45 drivers on the books, no fewer than three will have him in the car. Oddly this has nothing to do with Bob's arms length relationship with Mr Soap, but more his taxi etiquette. Bob's tactic when driven home to Chelsea from a studio, a driver explains, is to hang on to the car for hours as he does a tour of designer shops to pick up clothes. The driver's job, meanwhile, is to give him the slip. "It's not as easy as it sounds," we are told. "He's a cunning bnger, and plans it so that we only drop him in busy one-way streets, so it's hard to get away. I once thought I'd made a clean break, but he came running after me and caught me at the traffic lights."

A LETTER to research staff from the office of likeable LibDem chief whip Paul Tyler, marked "strictly private and confidential", comes to our attention. It concerns the Christmas lunch at a restaurant near Waterloo called L'Anberge... "A fine Belgian establishment well known for the aphoristic quality of the mussels" it entices. "It also has the hugely appealing quality of being reasonably priced. Of course, should anyone ask, this meal will officially count as a business conference and strategy conference, and so claimable on expenses." Pants won't like it.

FOR all who have wondered what it might be that Virginia Bottomley has in common with her husband Peter, a cine came in the Independent's Saturday magazine, where the poor creature shared her thoughts on Christmas presents. "I do like giving and receiving presents," wrote Mrs Bottomley. "One year I bought all my family bird tables. Another year I bought them all hockey sticks." I see. A perfect match.

THANKS to Lysbeth Fox of the SPA Partnership for another late contender for Press Release of the Year headline: "Warning: turkeys can seriously damage your health." The document goes on to reveal that a "British Hernia Centre" report finds that domestic cooks are in danger at this time of year... "danger" comes when the cook has "to bend or strain when manoeuvring the turkey from the refrigerator to the work surface, due to varying heights," such a strain possibly resulting in "potentially life threatening conditions such as strangulated hernias". We have been warned.



Tony and Bill would do better to play the long game with Saddam

Hugo Young



THE best guide to what may very soon happen in Iraq is supplied by what was meant to happen a month ago, before President Clinton called off the attack as the planes were in the air and the fingers on the button. After that onslaught was stood down, the Washington Post felt free to specify the nature of the campaign which official sources said had been averted.

The attacks would not, as thought before, be brief if brutally symbolic, such as happened in Sudan and Afghanistan. A "strike-pause-strike" option, mainly confined to cruise missiles, had been rejected. This time there would be a continuous series of raids, lasting "at least" several days, one-fifth of which would be carried out by British aircraft.

Though these would be targeted on chemical and biological warfare stockpiles, the Pentagon offered the prediction, "as a medium-scale scenario", that they could kill 10,000 Iraqis, many of them civilians.

Saddam Hussein, however, backed down, or said he had. Many US officials — Secretary Albright, Secretary Cohen, most of the relevant others — wanted to press ahead, but Clinton stepped away.

Among other things, it was said, he didn't want anyone to think he was gambling with international peace to ease his personal predicament at the hands of Kenneth Starr. The outcome was a relief to all concerned, so long as they were prepared to believe Saddam. For nobody could say what the bombing was certain, or even likely, to achieve.

In the last month, two factors in the equation have changed. First, with breath speed, Iraq broke every promise it made about the freedom of Uncom, the UN

arms inspection team, to do its work. Mr Blair told Parliament yesterday that the inspectors' impotence was now worse than before the November crisis.

Second, the apprehensions overhanging Clinton have changed as well. He seems a nearly broken man. In place of a leader suspected of baring his chest to divert attention from his neider parts, we have one now in the grip of a frailty that's more alarming if the bombing starts, it will be controlled by a demoralised president, no longer the master of his own destiny.

The third factor, however, hasn't changed at all. It's still quite uncertain what the bombing will achieve, except the fulfilment of repeated threats that, if Saddam didn't comply with UN demands, he would face maximum punishment. Such fulfilment now seems unavoidable.

What would be left of Washington's, and compliant London's, reputation if it didn't happen? Secretary Cohen said last time "No more hiding and seeking, no more playing of games." Prime Minister Blair said: "No warnings, no negotiations, no wrangling... the next withdrawal of co-operation and he will be hit."

Yet this offers an appalling prospect on several levels. The first is military. After nearly a year of preparation, the targets seem to be quite uncertain. If we doubted this, Mr Blair supplied the disarming evidence yesterday, when he said that a major commitment against Saddam's treatment of Uncom was his refusal to tell the inspection team the whereabouts of Iraq's stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction.

Not only is pinpoint bombing an illusion, anyway, but the pin that's supposed to be pointed, we now know on high authority, is in many cases not identifiable. Second, the political objective remains as desperate as it always was. Since the November non-event, there's been one development, in the form of a speech by Sandy Berger, the President's national security adviser. Last week, Mr Berger outlined what appeared to be an alternative to the strategy of containing Saddam, which was to work more purposefully to replace him.

This fleshed out Clinton's own ambition for "a new government" in Baghdad, and itemised the work Washington was doing to reconcile the two largest Kurdish groups, strengthen opposition forces, set up clandestine broadcasts and generally de-legitimise a regime that is far worse than, for example, Pinochet's.

There's much authority for the arduousness of this task. As long as Saddam lives, how could anyone expect it to be consummated? But equally, if November's promised blitz is finally carried out, can anyone imagine it is certain, or even probable, that Iraq's heeled guerilla national psyche is more likely to fall apart than to gather round the leader who has proscribed himself into the status of the irreducible national icon?

The case for the bombing is that, politically, Saddam does not have a leg to stand on. He has defied a world community that only reluctantly assembles a united will to say that he must be resisted. Before the November non-event, this will finally expressed itself.

But within a month, Uncom has been reminded of what its former leader, Rolf Ekens, last year described as the inspectors' plight: "We are nothing in Baghdad, we are at their complete mercy. They can just stop our work

at any time." Since this work, the identifying and elimination of weapons of mass destruction, is vital to the peace of the region, Saddam surely cannot be permitted to hold the region and the world to ransom by his contemptuous resistance: not to mention holding his own country in a state of cruel penury, under sanctions he alone has the power to lift.

The case against the bombing, however, rests on considerations of exactness and proportionality. Will the envisaged blitz eliminate the weapons? Is the massive collateral damage likely to include the elimination of Saddam himself?

Is this the best or only way to achieve that desirable end? Or is it about to happen essentially as the climax of a rhetorical escalation that has been more mindful of the need to preserve the face and prove the will of the US and UN, than of the terrible damage likely to be inflicted on innocent Iraqis?

Uncom forced Iraq to destroy 40,000 chemical weapons, 700 tons of chemical weapons agents, 48 operational missiles, a massive anthrax-production plant, a nuclear centrifuge programme, and at least 30 CBW warheads.

There are certainly more weapons. But could Iraq ever use them? Saddam knows that if he did, massive retaliation would get unequivocal world support. They are hideous, but also just about as unusable as the British nuclear deterrent.

Going to war to obliterate them, therefore, seems in all the circumstances an option which Mr Clinton and Mr Blair have been foolish to render the exclusive choice that can save the world order.

Commercial funding is compromising research

Integrity for sale

George Monbiot



ITHINK the vice-chancellors of Britain's universities were expecting to be congratulated when they announced this week that they would no longer take money for cancer research from the tobacco industry. Most people would surely wonder why on earth they were taking it in the first place.

Today, there is scarcely a science faculty in Britain whose academic freedom has not been compromised by its funding arrangements. Our research departments have been offered for sale, and objectivity and intellectual honesty are becoming surplus to requirements.

Take research into energy, for example. The sociologist David Whyte has shown how a prominent energy research faculty accepted falsified accident figures provided by an oil company in order to keep faith with its sponsors in the industry. He has seen how faculties taking oil money have deliberately played down the industry's long-term prospects, to help to persuade the Government not to increase taxes or to impose new health and safety regulations.

UNIVERSITIES tend to dismiss complaints like this, arguing that business funds only a small proportion of their research. Far more comes from the Government to foster an environment in which intellectual curiosity can wander unconstrained by commercial imperatives. That might once have been the case. But, since 1994, the Government has channelled an increasing proportion of its research budget through something called the Foresight Programme, whose purpose is to ensure that British science meets the needs of industry. Far from filling the gaps left by commercial funding, it boosts the research programmes most likely to receive business sponsorship.

Yesterday, Peter Mandelson launched his white paper on competitiveness, which will strengthen the links between science and business. On Tuesday, he extended the Foresight Programme. Science which cannot answer the immediate needs of commerce is in danger of extinction.

The Foresight Programme scarcely pretends to promote either academic objectivity or the public interest. Its agriculture and forestry panel, which decides which faculties get government grants, is supposed to encourage research,

among other topics, into "the effects of land use on the environment" and rural employment. Yet, while the National Farmers' Union, The Pig Improvement Company and Zeneca Agrochemicals are all represented on the panel, it contains just one member of a university department and no one from a trades union, an environmental group or any other voluntary body.

Eight members of the Food and Drink Foresight panel come from food companies and trade bodies, and two from universities. It has decided that its duties include "demonstrating the health benefits to the consumer of new technologies employed — for example, genetic modification". Its sub-group on alcohol wants to "guide... consumers" towards an "understanding of the risks and benefits of components of fermented drinks, including alcohol". Doctors and health charities might wonder whether alcohol has any medical benefits, but a regrettable oversight ensured that they weren't able to contribute: the Foresight report on the funding of alcohol research emerged from a consultation with five trade bodies and 15 drinks companies.

The Foresight Programme, the Government assures us, is just one component of its science funding. The Research Councils, by contrast, exist to ensure that the majority of government funding is untainted by commercial interests. Perhaps we could invest rather more faith in its assurances, were the director-general of the Research Councils not the former research director of BP, or the Science Minister the former chief executive of Sainsbury's.

Business now stands as a guard dog at the gates of perception

Lord Sainsbury's task is to ensure that science funding reflects the needs of science, rather than just industry, but, according to the Department of Trade and Industry's website, he also chairs the "Food Chain Group", whose purpose is to ensure that government funding for science reflects the special needs of the food industry. A Sainsbury's representative sits on the Food and Drink Foresight panel. Sainsbury's is funding the public consultation Peter Mandelson launched this week, whose purpose is to see whether ordinary people feel that British science is representing their interests.

Science tells us who we are and how we can live better. It is the medium through which we perceive the world. But business now stands as a guard dog at the gates of perception. It may be that only the inquiries which suit its needs will be allowed to pass.

It is consumers, not scientists Blair should be listening to on the subject of genetically engineered food

Bad taste

Peter Melchett

AT a seminar on science this week, Tony Blair, David Mandelson and Peter Mandelson were told that genetic engineering represents "opportunities to be seized" and that they should beware of "bio-fundamentalists". As the only "bio-fundamentalist" present, I said that industry and UK government scientists were not trusted by the public — and for good reason. In crucial areas such as food — from pesticides to mad cow disease — they've simply got it wrong. Chatham House rules prevent other comments being attributed.

Throughout the last 50 years, the Government has poured millions of pounds into intensive, industrialised food production. The problems that Rachel Carson highlighted in her book, *Silent Spring*, should have

forewarned us of the disasters to follow — the stripping of nature from the face of our countryside, the revolting cruelty of industrialised livestock farming, culminating in the catastrophe of mad cow disease.

At the seminar, it was clear that, 20 years later, nothing has fundamentally changed. The agenda of official British science is still dominated by the old-fashioned mindset that big is best, and that the more intense our manipulation or interference with nature through science, the better the outcome will be.

Environmentalists are enthusiasts for science, which plays a crucial role in identifying environmental problems like damage to the ozone layer and climate change. But scientific policy advice given to politicians comes from a tightly drawn "inner circle". Although knowledgeable in their

fields, these "experts" have often proved to be incapable of appreciating how the real world works (as with BSE), and equally incapable of taking seriously issues that matter to the public (cows shouldn't eat cows).

In the UK, there is a strong presumption that the comfortable smoking-room consensus among elite decision-makers is automatically right. They even fail to ask the right questions, let alone provide sensible answers.

THE seminar was dominated by genetic engineering. This new technology involves even greater conflict with natural systems than the industrialised agriculture it builds on. It is now the dominant force in British science. Most of the scientists seemed to want the Government to treat applications of genetic engineering in food and in

medicine in the same way. The public see them quite differently. Buying food for your family and getting a prescription from your doctor are not the same, whatever the genetic engineering enthusiasts may say. Someone who is ill, and voluntarily takes something to make them better, chooses to take a risk explained to them, for a clear, hoped-for, personal benefit. None of this applies to genetically engineered food.

The Prime Minister was given some very unsentimental speculation, for example, that genetic engineering is needed to feed the world's growing population. There is no evidence for this, and a study, just reported in *Nature*, found that the positive alternatives of organic agriculture can "produce equivalent crop yields to conventional methods".

Science has a role to play in decisions about food production. But as a Government Research Council group of scientists said of the arguments about dumping the Brest Spar: "Any decision to proceed, or not to proceed, with such activities involves social, economic, ethical and aesthetic considerations which are outside the competence of the group, and judgments in which the technical assessment of the environmental impacts is only one factor, and not necessarily the most important one." The decision on whether to proceed with

genetically engineered food also involves social, economic, ethical and aesthetic considerations — and questions about need, who benefits, and questions about the unpredictable and the unknowable. Above all, if it is to represent the public interest, Government must listen to environmentalists, non-establishment scientists and the public, who just do not wait on it at all. In saying some of this to Tony Blair, I was accused of exaggerating to make a point. But my overwhelming impression was that the Prime Minister and his colleagues, like their predecessors over the last 50 years, were being presented with a cosy consensus, which ignored overwhelming public concerns, and establishment science's record of failure, not success.

Lord Melchett is executive director of Greenpeace UK



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Bombing Iraq

The aim is to help Iraqis

AN AIR campaign against Iraq could well be under way by the time readers pick up this newspaper. America must respond to Saddam's deliberate flouting of the UN Special Commission, it has in place the military forces to do so, and it will undoubtedly be concerned to avoid a strategically timed Iraqi offer to resume compliance with the UN inspectors like the one which averted bombing a month ago. UN personnel in Iraq have either already left or are on their way out of the country. Even if the planes and missiles do not go in so quickly, the chances are that the bombing will come soon, in the narrow envelope between impeachment moves in Washington and the beginning of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. At the very least, the threat will remain and could become a reality at any moment in the coming days or weeks.

It is undoubtedly a hideous thing to contemplate the systematic bombardment of targets in Iraq, a bombardment which would certainly take innocent lives and take them in a society already gravely damaged by years of war followed by years of sanctions and isolation. Saddam Hussein has a genius for presenting both his enemies and those who pass for his friends with unpleasant choices. The initial responses to this latest crisis showed the same pattern evident in the two earlier emergencies this year. The Americans and the British show a readiness to deal with Saddam militarily, but this masks doubts about where such

action might lead. The Russians and the French agree there has been serious obstruction of the UN inspectors but are still against a military strike. Middle Eastern governments keep both their doubts and their desires hidden, but undoubtedly know that an air campaign could produce extreme reactions on the streets of their capitals. The United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, who has twice headed off a military confrontation, almost certainly would like to do so again, but Saddam's cavalier treatment of the inspectors, after Annan twice put his own prestige on the line, makes it hard for him to intervene once more.

What has changed since the last crisis is that the United States and Britain have manifested a new and more public determination to bring down Saddam. As Samuel Berger, President Clinton's assistant for National Security Affairs, put it in a recent speech, "Our policy... is to contain Saddam, but also to... remove him". Mr Berger went on to outline a long term policy to strengthen the Iraqi opposition and undermine the Iraqi dictator. By striking at such targets as Saddam's palaces, military installations, and intelligence establishments, a bombing campaign could conceivably precipitate a coup against him either from his own inner circle or from the officer corps. If bombing did not have such immediate effects, it would certainly limit his reach and control in the country. Yet bombing also carries large risks. Saddam will protect targets like the palaces by inducing civilians to converge on them. He could conceivably have, and it is just conceivable he might use, chemical or biological weapons which the UN inspectors have failed to find. He might be able, as before, to turn on rebels trying to seize the opportunity provided by an air campaign and deal them savage blows. And what happens if, after a

sustained campaign, no weakening of the regime is evident? Would we just go on bombing? These are difficult questions. Saddam enjoys no true loyalty among Iraqis, except perhaps in his home region of Tikrit. As far as their feelings can be determined, Iraqis blame both Saddam and the West for their dismal situation, to which they desperately crave an end. Bombing will only be justified, for us and for them, if it clearly contributes to that outcome.

Growing success

Mandelson makes the right noises

IT IS DIFFICULT to fault Peter Mandelson's competitiveness white paper. It contains dozens of worthwhile initiatives from a £150 million Enterprise Fund to grow more entrepreneurs to Lord Sainsbury's study to tackle barriers to growth in biotechnology. It addresses fundamental structural problems in the UK economy — like lack of enterprise in exploitation of our science and knowledge base and our slowness to harness the awesome commercial possibilities of the internet. The UK has been one of the most successful inventors yet a bad exploiter. Mr Mandelson's white paper is doubly welcome because he believes in what he is proposing and as a doer rather than a passive minister he has a better chance of success than many of his predecessors.

The paper (inspired by Silicon Valley rather than Europe) was so sensible that the shadow secretary, John Redwood, had to take refuge in complaining about policies not in it, like the minimum wage, working regulations and higher taxation.

When Michael Heseltine was the Conservative secretary of state he too produced annual competitiveness documents includ-

ing worthwhile initiatives — like one-stop shops for business advice — but the productivity gap with other countries is as wide as ever. This is due to two factors: the deep cultural problems that have to be solved before California-style entrepreneurs start sprouting and, second, the difficulty of translating worthy white papers into increases in GDP. No one really knows why the technological exploitation of the internet — hardware and software — has become virtually an American monopoly. Nor whether it is possible to challenge it, except in niche markets.

Government can do two really important things. First, create the conditions in which people with ideas have the chance to start businesses even though, inevitably, many will fail. Second, even more important, provide a steady macro-economic framework avoiding the unexpected recessions that kill off so many budding companies, leaving banks nursing losses. A vital part of that stability is commitment to a competitive exchange rate so companies can plan knowing their products won't be priced out of the market by an overvalued pound. No industry secretary has dared to become the public champion of a competitive pound. If they had, we wouldn't now be worrying whether we face another avoidable recession. It remains to be seen whether Mr Mandelson rises to the occasion.

Spot the tune

Whose music's in the air?

WORLD-FAMOUS popular musicians did it, even Wolfgang Amadeus did it, let's do it, let's pluck a tune out of the air and forget — for who can remember the provenance of a melody — who first wrote it down. (Cole

Porter, in case you were wandering.) Andrew Lloyd Webber didn't do it, though he had to bear the cost of a trip in New York and district court lawyers' fees to defend himself against the claim, which had been lodged by a Baltimore man who writes songs in his spare time and said the title song to Phantom of the Opera was his. Lord Lloyd Webber of Sydmonton says such suits are apparently becoming more common. If true, that could imply there are thus more envious, obscure songwriters out there, conceivably, that the realm of melody is shrinking and songs are starting to sound like one another.

There is a school of thought (though club might be a better word) impatient with tight definitions of ownership: it believes originality lies with the DJ who "samples". To sample is both to pass off someone else's work as your own and to fuse new (creative, ironically post-modern) sound worlds. Yet the activity turns out to have a long provenance. Mozart, Beethoven and Brahms were dab hands at embroidering variations on other composers' themes. We call Humperdinck "Wagnerian" as praise and then there are those wonderful and subversive renderings of Strauss (Johann) by the hard men of serialism. Finishing off a symphony by Elgar is to offer tribute, similar in dressing up like Bambi and Agnetha and impersonating Abba, like Bjorn Again.

The trouble is, modern culture simultaneously puts a high value on originality while playing fast and loose with old ideas of ownership. In cyberspace the very idea of plagiarism becomes problematical — the Microsoft courts are grappling with who owns "original" computer code. And yet we still successfully apply tests of authenticity, especially to music. Can you hum it, whistle it, do it karaoke? On such criteria, don't cry for Lord Lloyd Webber.

Letters to the Editor

Victims of injustice

YOU suggested I had been "taught out for not declaring an offshore trust" (Points of order, December 15). This is simply untrue. The existence of the trust you are referring to was disclosed in the DTI press release at the time of my appointment as minister in July. The question of taxation in the Lords register of interests was raised with the Judicial Office which replied that there was no need to do so. Lord Sainsbury, Department of Trade.

[I'm one of the miscarriage of justice victims Alan Rusbridger refers to hoping against hope for journalists to expose the injustice that has held me wrongfully in prison for the past 10 years (Shame on the Evening Standard, December 11). So there is no question about the integrity of Mr Rusbridger's comment that the Guardian has championed the corner of victims like me. I write from my cell to say the Guardian has given me hope by covering my case. Please don't give up on us. Raphael Rowe, RMP Kingston, Hants.

No joy for pensioners

PENSIONERS are angry. There's nothing in Darling's green paper (State of the Nation, December 16) for pensioners, the majority of whom have incomes a few pounds above income support.

It's taken nearly two years of "review" to tell us the New Labour intends to follow the Conservatives' path to shift retirement provision to the private sector. This allegedly reduces government expenditure, though more will have to be spent on means-tested income support.

Retirement incomes have to come out of our pockets regardless of who the paymaster is. Surely, increasing contributions to proven and excellent value-for-money National Insurance basic and Serps pensions is a cheaper and more secure alternative to the proposed experimental stakeholder schemes?

Let's hope opposition to this green paper will grow not only from pensioners but from the working population who are tomorrow's pensioners. Joe Harris, National Pensioners Convention.

THE much delayed green paper is a great disappointment. There is nothing to give the majority of today's pensioners dignity and independence in their retirement years and, if existing pensioners are treated with such disdain, what confidence can there be for future generations?

The Government invited pensioners to participate in the pensions review yet has ignored their submissions. The basic state pension is not a hand-out to the poor — it is an insurance benefit based on a lifetime of contributions and paid as a right.

By refusing to restore the link with earnings to the state pension, the Prime Minister cannot honour his promises to pensioners that they will share in the growing prosperity of the nation and that the state pension will form the foundation of pension provision. Without the earnings link, the state pension will continue to wither year on year and pensioners will most certainly not share in any prosperity. Quite the reverse.

There will be many, many pensioners who feel betrayed by this green paper and by

this Government. In November 1997, Mr Blair went on television and asked to be trusted. The pensioners' reply will come to the strains of Colonel Bogey. There is undoubtedly a big battle ahead. Clifford Fuller, Gloucestershire Pensioners Forum.

POLLY Toynbee (it's the new golden age, December 16) may be right about the contradictions of the proposals she thinks may come from the Royal Commission on the Care of the Elderly and Disabled but she misses the brutal implications of the current system.

For those of my mother's generation who have low pensions but some savings which are now being used to fund care, the political message is that you are a fool to save — just spend it now on the foreign holidays and consumer goods that your parents never had.

If we are not all part of the welfare state, the implications are that there will be none at all. Phil Molyneux, London.



Westminster spat continues

MELVYN Caplan, leader of the Westminster Council, seeks to abolish the council of any blame regarding the Clarendon Court scandal (Letters, December 12). But regardless of whether Westminster housed any of its own families in this hotel, it was clearly the council's responsibility to ensure that this hotel was properly inspected and fit for habitation. This was a responsibility that Westminster repeatedly ducked, despite clear evidence of the appalling conditions. It took a long campaign led by Karen Buck, now applauded by the Ombudsman, before action was taken. Alan Lazarus, Leader of the Opposition, Westminster City Council.

WE ACT as solicitors to Dame Shirley Porter. We refer to your articles Council ignominy's plight (December 10) and Secret plan for pay-off (December 14). Your latest efforts to link every criticism of Westminster Council to Dame Shirley Porter's alleged involvement in the scandal have led to distortions of the truth.

Your articles wrongly alleged that as a result of Westminster's policy of designating council housing for sale "the resulting homeless were

Now Wales stakes a claim for its own Six O'Clock News

GUARDIAN readers could be forgiven for thinking that the campaign for an integrated BBC Six O'Clock News applies only to Scotland. James Cusick (G2, December 14) failed to mention the Broadcasting Council for Wales's own aspirations. Indeed, the London media generally has studiously ignored the Welsh dimension.

For the record, the council has welcomed the measures announced by the BBC's board of governors, especially the £6 million injection into BBC Wales for devolution coverage. But it still has reservations about the practicalities of the current proposals for the Six O'Clock News. The council will be closely monitoring its performance over the next 12 months.

Phil Clark, Broadcasting Council for Wales.

JAMES Cusick's article demonstrates yet again the

Alone but Traumatized



This is 'Pepper' - he is at our Sanctuary in Ireland but depressed and pining. His class friend 'Salt' was brutally slain. Youths got into the field and rode Salt until she dropped. Salt was beaten with an iron bar before the bar was thrust through her eye into her brain.

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The EU's duty

ONE marvels at Messrs Harrison's and Knapp's choice of priority among transport fields to benefit from indirect subsidy to intra-EU air and sea travel via the profit margins of ports and (Letters, December 12). The run-down and congested state of movement in this country by rail and road has a far more deserving call on any transport-related financing.

As a frequent duty-free beneficiary, I see no justification for the largesse I get at the expense of taxpayers and consumers generally. Its operation distorts the lay-out and use of terminals and distracts from primary of cabin safety on route. Arguments about jobs are merely circular. Money not spent on duty-free, or taken in tax and used on public services, would get rerouted via demand into employment.

Years of consultation and argument went into the decision to end duty-free exemptions — an absurd black hole

Learned work

DAVID Stoll's earlier book on Guatemala, Between Two Armies in the Ixil Towns of Guatemala, is a work of meticulous scholarship compiled among the Mayan Indians of Nebel, one of the towns worst affected by army atrocities during the civil war, and reveals that the social issues underlying this conflict were far from being as simple as many commentators have been prepared to acknowledge (Writer of wrongs, December 16).

These people have suffered hideously, but if we are to help alleviate their misery we must first understand the true nature of their problems. Stoll's new book is surely part of this process.

Both the Guatemalan government and the Guerrilla Army of the Poor were outsiders attempting to impose their own solutions, so perhaps we should applaud Stoll for actually listening to the Indian people themselves. Andrew Short, London.

Festive spirit

MIGHT I add a footnote to Matthew Norman's diary item (December 16) about my "blazing row" with John Prescott and his staff?

I am not wholly surprised that an altercation with Mr Prescott and his staff over their decidedly half-hearted attitude towards the press should make your columns: but I am sure my reaction — undeniably scatalogical though mild by comparison with Steve Bell's cartoons — to their unacceptably criticisms of the Telegraph caused less offence than you say.

A Christmas party was hardly a suitable occasion for

In the ghetto

YOU highlight an issue (Rural poor overtaken by desperate urban underclass, December 11) raised time and time again by African, South American and Asian Bishops at this summer's Lambeth Conference.

The UN report rightly points out the need for "more investment in infrastructure and more encouragement by the authorities to allow people to grow food in cities". But also, as the Lambeth Report will point out, we need to address the economic inequalities of the cities where we have "the sight of children picking over the rubbish tips

of Buenos Aires and Bombay

whilst the rich of those cities lock themselves into their fortified ghettos for protection".

The growth of Asian cities in particular is the biggest challenge we will face in the new millennium, as by 2025 it is estimated half of the world's population will be in Asia, with 983 million of the people living in cities.

Rt Revd Roger Sainsbury, Bishop of Barking and Chairman of the Urban Bishops' panel.

Please include a full postal address, even an e-mailed address, and a daytime telephone number. We may edit letters. Please provide a reference to the relevant article.

The Church's one foundation



pointed by the English Establishment. He could make fun of the sectarianism of both the English and the Catholics within the Church of England. Asked on a media occasion whether the Arctic agreement could help the Church of England he adopted a strong Irish brogue: "You will not be asking me as an Irishman that."

He and his wife Leslie were witty and warm-hearted, and their home was a place of *joie de vivre*. Irish culture delighted him and he was warmly and specially happy in Trinity College, Dublin. By being himself he was a focus of understanding in his words: "Those who have worked at this confilice of Christian unity have soon died."

Bishop McAadoo . . . ecumenism in person

covered the paradox that the more truly they express in love their own tradition, the better they are able to understand in depth and to value the other tradition, with which they are in dialogue. Confrontational attitudes dissolve."

McAadoo was a great reconciler, recognised as a leader of sterling worth. He is survived by his wife and three children.

Alan Webster

The Most Rev Henry Robert McAadoo, archbishop, born January 10, 1916; died December 10, 1998.

Day the circus left town

the audience was in hysterics. This was my dead-pan boy, hero of a hundred movies, Frustration's Mime, persecuted by humans as well as objects.

The Cirque Medrano was always closely rivalled by the Cirque d'Hiver and in 1963, Medrano lost out to the owners of the other establishment, the Bougliones, who took over and renamed the building Le Nouveau Cirque de Montmartre. Its success

was short-lived and the building was demolished in 1972. For the last 30 years of his life, Medrano lived in Monaco, where he continued to take a close interest in modern circus life. In 1996 he was inducted into the International Circus Hall of Fame in Paris.

Indiana. The list of artists that he had presented was a roll-call of circus greats, and included Achille Zavatta, the clown who appeared in full costume and make-up, bearing a wreath, on the day the demolition team arrived in 1972.

Jérôme Medrano published his memoirs in 1983, *Une Vie de Cirque*; he is survived by his wife, a son and daughter.

Patrick O'Connor

Jérôme Medrano, circus owner, born May 18, 1907; died November 14, 1995



on the very last night of the fair
re and Josephine Baker christ



**amous Monmartre Circus which
ned a baby elephant**

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IHAD the great privilege of being taught by Tony Tanner (*Obituary, December 8*) between 1965 and 1970. At the time, though I knew I was lucky, I had no idea how lucky. His passionate love of literature, his vast capacity for reading, the infectious vivacity of his conversation and for a young man just out of college his sense of humor and friendliness—all these kept one in a condition of more or less permanent elation. Looking back on those days, I can see that Tony has got into my mind, so that even now I can still hear him.

He reminds me of a sentence by T.S. Eliot, describing the preacher Lancelot Arncliffe: "He takes a word and derives the world from it." In Tony's case it might also be said that he took the world from *moths*. But whatever it was, his close attention to one significant item could bring a whole work into focus, or even a whole *oeuvre*.

I shall never forget a superlative vision of Shakespearean Hamlet that he once had. In our discussion to be based on a single phrase of Othello: his demand for "ocular proof" of his wife's infidelity. From this point on, Tony argued, Othello's fate is sealed, for he is already invisible, and Iago is, as his creator was, the great manipulator of appearances.

HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS: With the concrete now found mainly on islands off the Scottish coast, it is difficult to imagine its former distribution where it was found in all parts of Britain. There is some indication from the Northamptonshire poet John Clare, who wrote two poems in the early 19th century to a bird he knew as a landrail: "While landralls call from day to day/ Amid the grass and grain". At that time in the Highlands, the birds have gone from the coastal hay fields I knew, as the fields no longer support hay or are cut too early. The so-called Corn-

crake Initiative was under-
taken from 1982, and this year
saw the fourth full census opera-
tion. Although, on certain core
lands, the numbers of singing
males have been counted an-
nually, honest responses have
not been available to en-
courage crofters and land-
owners to change the time
and method of mowing hay
and silage, because it de-
stroys the nests and chicks.

Mowing is delayed until
after August to give time for
the birds to hatch, and the
mowing pattern is changed
to make it easier for the
adults and chicks to escape
from the mower. Unfortu-
nately this year's census or-

IN A report on the Finance and Economics page, Page 27, December 10, we referred to Zeneca's Loughborough research establishment. That was wrong. The Loughborough site was bought by Astra some time ago.

IN A REPORT on Page 9, December 15, headed Tussle over who wrote Auld Land Syne etc, we said that William Shield wrote his opera *Kashira* in 1748. That was, in fact, the year he was born. *Kashira*, less precociously, was not written until about 1782. It was first performed and published in 1783.

A SENTENCE in a report headed BSkyB finds antidote to dish-phobia, Page 28, yesterday, was *Kashira*, less precociously, was not the wrong person. It was the BSkyB spokesman who said,

"The whole point of this deal is that dishes should become not noticeable, like a TV aerial" and not David Motte.

WE GAVE the name of the grocer in the British Rail robbery case, reported on Page 7, yesterday, variously as Simon Laws and Lays. Simon Laws is the correct version. Apologies.

IN AN ARTICLE about the theatrical movie *Tomb Raider*, which has opened at Wembley on Pages 6 and 7, G2, yesterday, we misnamed one of the participants in the joint enterprise responsible for it. We should have said Special Entertainment Events Inc (not Sony Entertainment Events).

WE HAVE BEEN asked to make it clear that the PA referred to

Simon Bates, disc jockey, 53; Peter Blackburn, chairman, 60; John Blackmore, 78; John Blyden, 69; John Bonner, 67; George Bonehill, 69; Neville UK, 58; Procter & Gamble, 58; Casson, economist, 53; Christopher Cazenave, author, 68; Penelope Fitzgerald, writer, 62; Lord Glenamole, 69; Mary McCormack, 68; former Labour minister, 68; Brian Hayes, radio presenter, 61; Bernard Harcourt, 69; Lord Harewood, 69; Lawson, editor, the Sunday Telegraph, 42; Kerry Packer, Australian television magnate, 61; son and cricket magnate, 61; Sir John Gollan, 69; commissioner for public appointments, 66; Robert Robb, 71; son, broadcaster, 71; Peter Snell, athlete, 60; Shirley Stiles, 69; 62; Baroness Strang, author, 70; Stella Tennant, model, 27; Cecil Walker, Ulster Unionist MP, 69

ALLAN, William (806, Chas. I.D., FRIEDMAN), died at his home, 1790 W. 1st St., Sunday on December 14th 1996 at age 86.
Survivors: Son, Dr. Allan S. Friedman, MD, 1790 W. 1st St., Garden City, Husband of Cecelia, dear friend, Mrs. Judith Friedman, 1790 W. 1st St., Garden City, grandchild, Daniel Friedman, 1790 W. 1st St., Garden City, Harwood Park Cemetery, Funeral at 11 AM, Saturday, December 19th at 1:15 PM, Garden City Cemetery.
Memorial celebration of his life to be announced.

MORGANS, Morgan Stephen, Husband of Barbara (recently deceased), died 9th December 1996 at 80 years of age.
Vers 1980. A remarkable man, funeral 22nd December at Etham Crematorium at 14.15 hours.
DOWD, David, at Kingston on 14th December 1996 after a long illness confronted death with inspiring courage. A celebration of his life will take place at Mortlake Crematorium on Tuesday 22nd December at 11.30 AM. Donations to R.N.M. Dr. Cunningham's Research Trust, The Fundraising Department, The Royal Marsden Hospital, Downs Road, Sutton, Surrey, SM6 8PT.

To place your announcement telephone 0171 734 4567 or fax 0171 734 4707. Deaths 0171 734 4567.

مجلسه اول

Analysis Restitution



The long game
versus Saddam
8

A hook for Holocaust justice

American lawyers and finance regulators are giving Jewish groups a powerful tool to crack open the vaults of banks, art collections and firms tainted by the Nazis, says
Alex Brummer

THE American Holocaust compensation lobby is powerful. Its prompting got the New York City bank regulator to hold up Deutsche Bank's \$10 billion takeover of Bankers Trust. The same interests which earlier this year forced the Swiss banks to set up a \$1.25-billion (\$250 million) compensation fund for victims of Nazi expropriation are using their new-found political clout to bring an end to other long-standing claims.

Some 54 years after the liberation of the concentration camps business and now the art world find themselves confronting a past long thought buried. As Steve Spielberg secures for the video archive the final witness of the Shoah generation, so Holocaust activists — led by the World Jewish Congress — seek final restoration of assets looted or left behind as European Jewry was forced overseas or into ghettos and the death camps.

But the challenge, now focusing on some of Europe's most powerful financial institutions, is not universally applauded. The initiatives are perceived — even in the Jewish communities — as haphazard and in the case of banking opportunistic. In the New York Times the former leader of the Crier (the main French Jewish group), Joseph Klein, suggested that the scramble for money was unseemly and an affront to the dignity of the Jewish people. He compared the lawyers involved to ambulance chasers. He challenged the moral basis on which much of this legal activity is being conducted — why in the United States rather than where the crimes took place. Despite the elevated ethical pose of the American authorities, who have lent grandees of politics and finance to the cause, Mr Klein noted that the United States did not have clean hands. President Franklin D. Roosevelt consistently refused to bomb the railroads to the camps when there was hard intelligence evidence of the destruction of European Jewry.

The picture is still not complete. The just-concluded Washington conference on Nazi seizures succeeded in broadening the frame from finance, banking and insurance to include the international art world and slave labour in manufacturing. In Britain the Trade Secretary, Peter Mandelson, has established a £25 million fund to begin compensation of Jewish refugees from Germany interned here during the second world war as aliens who had their assets seized. "Not a

glorious chapter in our history," Mr Mandelson said.

A full accounting of Jewish assets in Europe was commissioned by a committee of eminent persons headed by the former Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker but has yet to complete its work. For it, Helen Junz is preparing a doomsday book of pre-war Jewish assets and is deeply embroiled in complex valuation concepts. Potentially the exercise will produce the most authoritative auditing of pre-war Jewish assets to date and the figures could be startling. At the Washington conference, a Czech official told delegates that Jewish proprietors were thought to have more than 40 per cent of pre-war industrial assets. Returning that amount of wealth to the victims' heirs or to survivors' funds would be an enormous challenge.

The book for Holocaust claimants in the United States is the vulnerability of the financial sector to regulatory intervention. Over the decades it has been the pro-Israel lobby that has been the primary focus of Jewish political activism in the United States. But it has been the determination of the World Jewish Congress under the leadership of Edgar Bronfman (son of the Seagrams liquor and entertainment empire) to achieve justice for Holocaust survivors in their own lifetimes that has made the Shoah a new focus.

PRESSURE is exerted on politicians in states with high concentrations of Jewish activists who in turn influence public officials. It's no coincidence that New York City, where the Jewish vote is critical, has been so active in scrutinising bank mergers. Moreover, because New York's banking comptroller is the most powerful in the US — Wall Street is after all the world's most important banking centre — what New York does, other states follow. The Bankers Trust deal has been used as a lever to advance the class-action suit, brought by hundreds of individual survivors, against Deutsche Bank. Once Deutsche indicated its readiness to deal, the comptroller, Alan Hevesi, has seemed ready to lift the moratorium. Financial regulators are now making life increasingly difficult for the six major European insurance companies including Assicurazioni Generali, Allianz and Zurich.

At the Washington conference the Florida state insurance commissioner made it clear that his state was ready, if necessary, to use a sledgehammer to force the insurers to come to a settlement. The state pension funds could, for



The continental compensation trail

France

In 1995 Jacques Chirac formally recognised the responsibility of the French state for the crimes of the Vichy regime, beginning an ongoing process of review. In 1997 the archives of the Commissariat aux Oeuvres Juives were opened to public inspection for the first time. Suits are now before the courts for assets confiscated when French Jews were rounded up but not returned by the government restitution ministry after the liberation of France. Prime minister Lionel Jospin established a commission to study the despoliation of French Jews

Hitler launched the people's car (above) — now Volkswagen has set up a fund to help Jewish survivors. Maurice Piperno (right) was sentenced this year to 10 years for his part in the war-time round-up and dispatch to the Nazi death camps of French Jews.

led by Jean-Marie Le Pen, a former labour minister and resistance fighter.

Switzerland

Despite a 1992 government edict on the return of Jewish

assets, Switzerland has been criticised for its slow pace of legal actions against Swiss companies. Assets belonging to Swiss banks were seized by the Swiss government in 1995. Swiss banks have been accused of covering up the assets of forced labourers during the war. The Swiss government has been accused of covering up the assets of forced labourers during the war. The Swiss government has been accused of covering up the assets of forced labourers during the war.

Germany

Since 1990 the German government has paid more than \$20 billion in reparations to Jewish survivors. The German government has been criticised for its slow pace of legal actions against German companies. Assets belonging to German banks were seized by the German government in 1995. German banks have been accused of covering up the assets of forced labourers during the war.

Set up a \$20 million fund to help Jewish survivors. The German government has been criticised for its slow pace of legal actions against German companies. Assets belonging to German banks were seized by the German government in 1995. German banks have been accused of covering up the assets of forced labourers during the war.

instance, be required to be divested of all shareholding in the continental insurers. The gap between what the task force set up by the National Association of Insurance Commissioners believes is the correct compensation figure and what the companies have offered so far is wide. Generally, the large Italian insurer, has offered \$100 million; Deborah Senn of Washington state, the taskforce leader, believes \$1 billion would be more realistic. (This isn't the first time that financial regulators have used their muscle. The threatened withdrawal of pension funds from corporations with ties to South Africa eventually put enough financial pressure on the apartheid regime to usher in reform and democracy.)

THE latest area to be targeted is art. Several big pre-war collectors were Jewish but, as thousands of middle-class families, particularly in Germany, had collected individual paintings which are now highly valued. The problem here is that since the war many of the looted artworks have been restored to national collections in museums on the basis of nationality or origin rather than provenance or ownership. What was broadly agreed in Washington by the 44 nations present was that action could at least be taken to catalogue, identify and publicise a list of the disputed art works.

"This is a major achievement which will reverberate through our museums, galleries, auction houses and in the hearts and homes of those families who may now have the chance to have returned what is rightfully theirs," said the American under secretary of state, Stuart Eizenstat, who is co-ordinating this effort. As with banking and insurance, the conference appears to have found a lever to force the auction houses to co-operate. Until the ownership of disputed works in public and private collections is resolved, the market will be overshadowed, driving down prices and commissions. Injunctions could be slapped on auctions of art at which there are items of disputed provenance.

It's unfortunate, in some respects, that survivors' claims are increasingly seen in negative terms, appearing to confirm ancient anti-semitic stereotypes. The truth is that the running is now being made by American authorities determined to correct one of the greatest injustices of this century. If along the way there is some stereotyping then so be it. The survivors and their heirs were non-people for too long.

Sources: (1) New York Times, December 15, 1998; (2) Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret*, Little Brown 1980; (3) Peter Mandelson speech to British-Israel Chamber of Commerce, December 7, 1998; (4) Jewish Chronicle, December 11 1998 www.johron.co.uk; (5) Le Nouvel Observateur, *Spoliation des biens juifs, ce qui s'est passé en France*, December 8-9, 1998; (6) Die Zeit, *Ende eines Tabus*, December 10, 1998. Researcher: Matthew Keating, Curtis Brown. Alex Brummer is the Guardian's financial editor. His family lost land and property in post-war Europe. No claims have been lodged.

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FinanceGuardian

The problem: rising unemployment. The cure: boosting competitiveness

Winter jobs nightmare

Mark Atkinson
Economics Correspondent

THE Government's nightmare of a winter of rising unemployment appears to be coming true. Official figures yesterday showed the six-year downward trend in joblessness reversing.

The claimant count — the number out of work and claiming benefit — increased by 5,900 to 1,229,200 in November, while the Labour Force Survey, which includes everyone looking for work in the previous four weeks, jumped by 16,000 between August and October to 1,892,000.

The Office for National Statistics, which publishes the figures, said the increase in the Labour Force Survey was "not statistically significant" but indicated that the more up-to-date claimant count, up by an average of 4,000 in the last three months, was a

warning sign. "The fall in the claimant count appears to have levelled off," said an ONS spokeswoman.

With manufacturing sliding deeper into recession and the slowdown in the services sector gathering pace, Michael Dicks, economist at City firm Lehman Brothers, said it was only a matter of time before things got "really nasty".

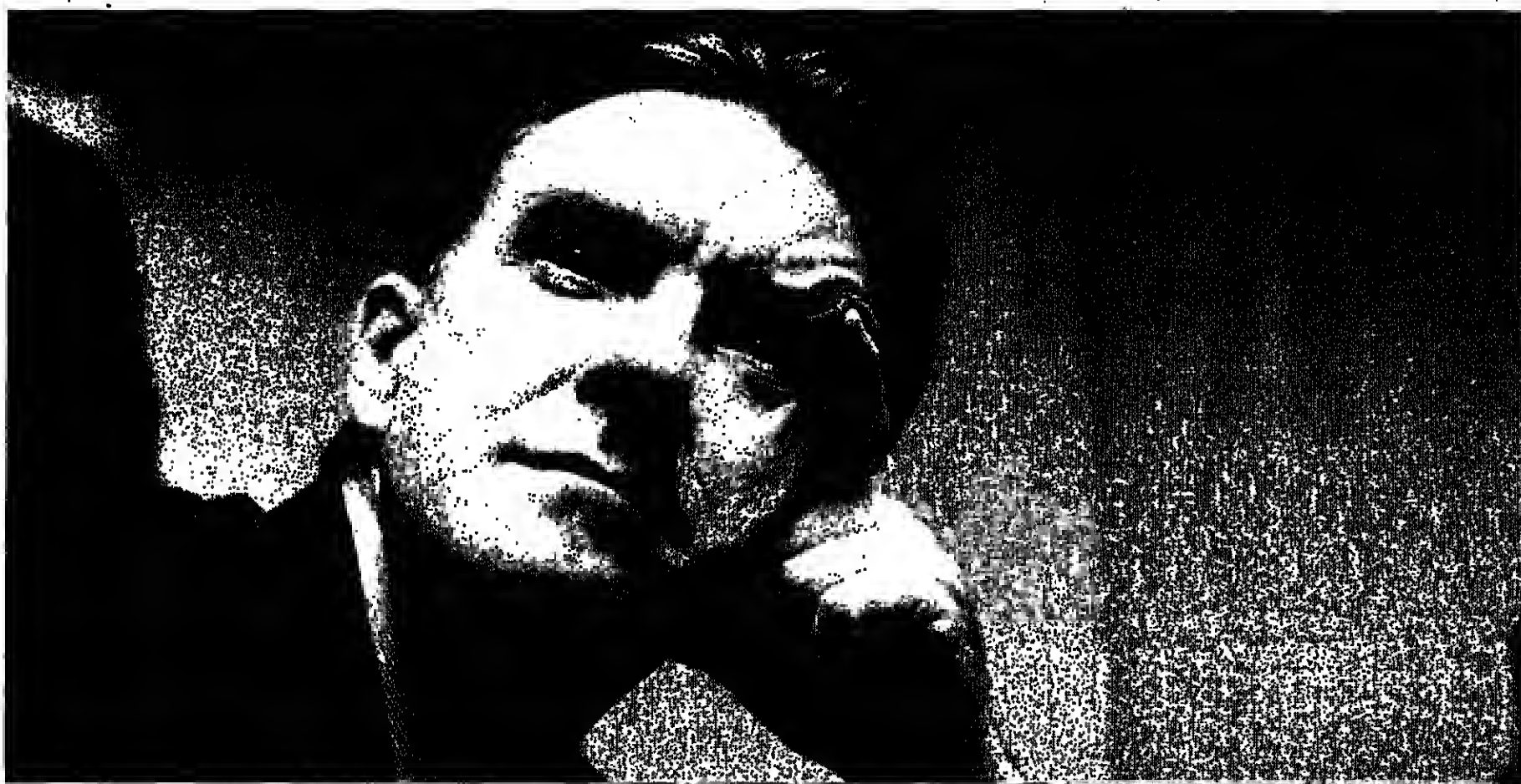
Damian Green, the Conservative spokesman on employment, said: "This is the worst possible news as we enter 1999. The Government's economic mismanagement means that thousands of families are facing a bleak Christmas and new year."

The one bright spot for the Government came in separate data showing public finances on track for an unexpectedly large surplus in the current financial year, giving the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, plenty of scope to let borrowing rise without blowing a hole in his health and education plans — provided the economy avoids a serious recession.

Defying City expectations of a public sector net cash requirement of around £2 billion in November, the actual figure was just £1 billion, leaving the public finances in surplus by £4.3 billion in the year to date.

Even though economic slowdown will inevitably see revenues soften from here, the Chancellor appears to have built in a considerable 'comfort factor' in his budgetary arithmetic, said Kevin Darlington at the Dutch bank, ABN-Amro.

A breakdown of the unemployment figures showed the shake-out from manufacturing payrolls is accelerating, with 83,000 disappearing since February more than a quarter in October alone.



Wake-up call... Peter Mandelson's strategy relies on the hi-tech business 'clusters' he found on a visit last month to Cambridge's Silicon Fen

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARTIN ARLES

Mandelson moves to reverse the century of decline

The future means keeping ahead of the curve. Mark Atkinson and David Gow report

PETER Mandelson, the Trade and Industry Secretary, yesterday unveiled a new enterprise fund to provide venture capital for the hi-tech small businesses of the future that should secure Britain's long-term competitiveness.

The fund, worth £150 million over three years, is one of 75 initiatives set out by Mr Mandelson in Labour's first competitiveness white paper since it took office 18 months ago.

Billing it as a "wake up call" to the nation to reverse more than a century of relative decline, Mr Mandelson said the Government aimed to create the conditions for "an economic step change".

He warned that unless British firms stayed "ahead of the curve" they would be rapidly left behind in the increasingly competitive global economy and the enterprise fund

heads a series of new and previously announced measures to close Britain's competitiveness gap. It replaces and amplifies the small firms loan guarantee scheme by channelling venture capital to businesses with growth potential.

Ministers and officials are discussing with six banks — Lloyds, NatWest, Bank of Scotland, Royal Bank of Scotland, the European Investment Bank and European Investment Fund — ways of providing long-term equity for start-up firms at the cutting edge of technology.

Officials said it differed from existing schemes by offering both equity and loans over a longer period than the current maximum of 10 years. The aim is also to encourage regional venture capital funds.

Blueprint for a can-do culture built on ideas

Economics/Vision is radical but expensive, writes Mark Atkinson

IN A global economy where capital is mobile, technology easily transferable and standard products can be made more cheaply in developing countries, the Trade and Industry Secretary, Peter Mandelson, believes developed countries such as Britain have to take the high road to raise living standards.

That means concentrating on innovative products and processes which competitors find hard to imitate. "The UK's distinctive capabilities are not raw materials, land or cheap labour. They must be our knowledge, skills and creativity," says the white paper.

To that end, he has come up with a number of proposals — some new, others reheated — designed to strengthen the UK's capabilities by, for example, fostering ties between universities and business.

Mr Mandelson is evasive of the way universities such as Stanford in California, whose alumni have created business worth \$1 trillion, commu-

Minister moves beyond the spin

Politics/David Gow and Mark Atkinson on a coming of age at the DTI

PETER Mandelson's white paper on competitiveness represents a coming of age for the Trade and Industry Secretary as a serious politician, again mapping out new territory for Labour.

The last six months have been good for Mr Mandelson, who has won plaudits from business for his navigation of the DTI, notably for dropping the baggage of state interventionism and distaste for business that had been retained under Margaret Beckett, his predecessor.

News in brief

Treasury sets value targets

Treasury Secretary Stephen Evers today announces a revolution in how the Government manages its money when he unveils the first set of public service agreements between the Treasury and individual departments.

Housing hiatus

House price rises will allow to 3 per cent in 1999, fractionally above the likely inflation rate for the next 12 months — according to a forecast from the National Endowment for Society Britain's third-biggest home-loan operation blames delays in cutting interest rates for low confidence among potential purchasers.

Mighty mouse

A Southern California computer company has accused software producer Microsoft of stealing its design for an ergonomic mouse and has asked for unspecified damages because of "the wilful nature of Microsoft's infringement".

York's trump card

A new operations centre for CFP card protection will bring 750 jobs to York in the next five years, ending a lean period for the city since train-bulldozers there three years ago. CFP, which insures many of the 800 credit cards stolen in the UK daily, is to build the base on part of the former ABB site where railway stock had been made for 150 years.

TOURIST RATES — BANK RATES

Australia 2.53	Germany 2.7077	Malaysia 6.42	Singapore 2.78
Austria 18.99	Greece 454.57	Malta 0.61	South Africa 9.83
Belgium 55.96	Hong Kong 12.72	Netherlands 3.0426	Spain 226.32
Canada 2.5266	India 7.18	New Zealand 3.14	Sweden 13.16
Cyprus 0.89	Ireland 1.0844	Norway 12.76	Switzerland 2.16
Denmark 6.56	Israel 7.018	Portugal 275.39	Turkey 487.640
France 6.5693	Italy 2.065	South Korea 1,622	USA 1.6425

Sourced by Reuters (forecasting rates, quoted and rounded)

12/12/98

Cone has the ground to sparkle

Face in Europe after the Queen Elizabeth II Stakes.


Ask Tom, the leading two-mile chaser Ask Tom a tough task by announcing that his horse will head straight to the Cheltenham Festival for the Queen Mother Cheltenham Chase without a prep race.

Ask Tom was sent off favourite for the latest running of the race in March but ran disappointingly to finish a well-behind eighth of behind One Man.

"He injured a suspensory on his joint which just raised its head before Cheltenham and interrupted his preparation," explained the Tadmor trainer. "We've given the injury time to settle."

The rising stars Lake Kariba and Edredon Glen head the weights at 11st 10lb for the Victor Chandler Chase at Ascot next month, a race won by Ask Tom last year.

Ladbrokes bet 5-1 Edredon Glen, 6-1 Mandys Mantino, 7-1 Hill Society, 8-1 Lake Kariba, Squire Silk.

[illegible]

falls by a short head to Pride

Minstrel

Radanpour to close to a flattening 10 lengths.

"He jumped better here than he did on his chasing debut at Aintree when he was a bit deliberate," said trainer Jimmy FitzGerald.

"We decided to fit him with blinkers on the recommendation of Tony McCoy who thought they would be a help after he finished second at Haydock on his seasonal debut.

"Ballad Minstrel is a big

1.40		HUECHST ROUSSEL MANACUR MARKES ONLY NOVICE MURDLE	
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201	12-21 <i>First Race (H)</i> 11 Yobos: Drive 5-2	H Llewellyn	87
202	11-10 <i>Second Race (H)</i> 11 Yobos: Drive 5-2	H Pineda	10
203	6-0 <i>Third Race (H)</i> 11 Yobos: Drive 5-2	C Hester	8
204	1-10 <i>Fourth Race (H)</i> 11 Yobos: Drive 5-2	A Thornton	10
205	0-0-0-0 <i>Unplaced (H)</i> 11 Yobos: Drive 5-2	H Llewellyn	87
206	11-10 <i>Unplaced (H)</i> 11 Yobos: Drive 5-2	C Hester	8
207	11-10 <i>Unplaced (H)</i> 11 Yobos: Drive 5-2	A Thornton	10
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261	11-10 <i>Unplaced (H)</i> 11 Yobos: Drive 5-2	A Thornton	10
262	11-10 <i>Unplaced (H)</</i>		

[illegible]

he is decent. He might run next at the Wetherby meeting over Christmas."

David Evans spoilt the party at Wolverhampton when saddling Pride Of Bristol to foil Sihafi's record bid in the Trent Apprentices' Handicap.

It looked as though Sihafi had netted his 10th handicap win of the year to set a new 20th Century record when Paul Goode brought him with a run on the wide outside to

[illegible][illegible]

double and sent out his God-
winner of the year when Mus-
Take flew out of the stalls in
the Severn Selling Stakes and
left her rivals toiling to win
by 10 lengths after having
drifted from 4-6 to 7-4 in the
face of heavy support for the
runner-up, The Last Word.

The Welshpool trainer said:
"That's great. My best previ-
ous record was 32 two years
ago and my horses always
seem to hit a purple patch in
November and December."

[illegible]

KEEPING TRACK

09064 700 +

	COMMENTARY	RESULTS
TOWCESTER	141	151
CATTERICK	142	152
EXETER	143	153

ALL COURSES COMMENTARY 09064 700 140
ALL COURSES RESULTS 09064 700 150

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TheGuardian **INTERACTIVE**

Turmoil at Lancaster Gate

Kelly 'victim of year-long plot'

The £3.2 million deal was a 'gift from the gods' for the enemies of the FA's chief executive. **Martin Thorpe** reports

EVIDENCE has come to light to suggest that Graham Kelly's departure was the culmination of a near-year-long plot to oust him as the FA's chief executive.

It is understood that as long as four months ago a group of Premiership chairmen approached the FA chairman Keith Wiseman to express reservations about the poor way he was running the club and to ask whether Wiseman would remove him. They were even prepared to support the idea of paying up Kelly's contract if this was the price of his departure.

Wiseman refused to countenance Kelly's sacking but, when the indiscretion over the £32 million given to the FA of Wales was discovered, those plotting his removal pronounced on it as a perfect vehicle to force his resignation. "A gift from the gods to those wanting Kelly out" is how one person close to the row described the move.

It is widely accepted in the game that, had the will been there, concerns over the money given to the FA could have been sorted out amicably behind closed doors, as so many other problems have.

The charges levelled against Kelly and Wiseman and the way to get the proper authorisation from the FA finance committee for the money to be given and also, allegedly, used it to buy votes for English representation would have been sorted out.

But buying votes is a common form of trade in the international game, and the first charge is hardly a crime. And a national team is accused of buying personalities from the deal which they felt they were doing in the best interests of the English game.

As one official put it: "You have a four-year tung inquiry and the FA has to have a sub-committee looking into this and the chief executive of the FA is forced to resign.

The disquiet over Tuesday's investigation into Kelly and the FA executive committee's vote of no-confidence in

[illegible]

Wiseman is further fuelled by the fact that the three-man FA sub-committee charged with investigating the circumstances of the cash given to Wales contained two men, David Dein, Arsenal's vice-chairman, and David Sheepshanks, Ipswich's chairman, who are both understood to cover the job of FA chairman.

raises the prospect of more damaging revelations coming out in court.

So what is the motive for the coup? It is a wish to modernise the FA and make it more responsive to the commercial reality of the modern game. With the arrival of Peter Leaver and Richard Scudamore as chief executives of the Premier League and Football League respectively, a feeling grew that the FA needed a more dynamic, business-orientated head.

Kelly's 30 years' experience in the game was not seen as balancing his lack of commercial expertise.

But while there is widespread acceptance of the need

or change, there is also concern about why a more dignified exit could not have been contrived for an honourable man who did his best.

More disquietingly, there are also fears about the long-term motives of Premiership clubs and the FA's sympathy with their desire for more representation on the governing body, there is also concern this coup may just be the beginning of a push to gain total power within the FA.

There are also concerns that an increase in the Premier League's influence in the FA could bring an end to the governing body's ethos of club control and a move away from park football upwards.

The Premier League is known to feel that its needs are so different from those of the amateur game that the two should be governed separately.

Yesterday both Kelly and Wiseman kept a low profile, though the chairman, after a brief interview with the radio, "As I was elected by the full council of the FA, I am therefore taking the present matter to them for resolution at their next meeting on January 27 and until I am satisfied that all and correct explanation of what has happened."

Russell Thomas

ANY Newcastle hopes of rapidly signing the French international winger Ibrahim Ba from Milan appeared yesterday to have been dashed by the player himself.

The unsettled Ba revealed that he had spoken to Newcastle's manager Ruud Gullit about swapping Italy for Tyneside but added: "I would be prepared to laava in January."

A £3-million-plus move is being negotiated with Ba confirming. "Milan have already spoken to the English representatives," and that his morale had suffered this season. "I'm down; how couldn't I be? I never play," he said. The former Bordeaux player has regularly been on the bench as Milan have climbed to second place in Serie A.

Ba is seen as the wide-playing successor to Keith Gillespie, just sold to Blackburn, but there appears little chance of the Frenchman providing service for Newcastle's other new signing, Duncan

Ferguson, immediately.
Portsmouth's Australian
international striker John
Aloisi will complete his
£800,000 move to Coventry
today after agreeing personal
terms with Gordon Strachan.

Aloisi, 22, the country's second highest scorer with 17 goals, will sign a 4½-year contract at Highfield Road after passing a medical and the former Cremonese striker will be available to make his debut at home to Derby on Saturday.

Alan Ball originally valued Aloisi at £2 million but financial pressures have forced a cut-price sale and Pompey will receive only about £500,000 because Cremonese are owed about £200,000 from his transfer from Italy 18 months ago.

Derby have taken Jonathan Jobansson on a three-day trial from Rangers with a view to a permanent transfer. If he impresses, the 23-year-old Finland striker would move from Ibrox to Pride Park for about £1.5 million.

Bristol City are negotiating for another European, Kenneth Storvick, a midfielder with Helsingborgs of Sweden for £300,000.

Wiseman called before local board of inquiry

KITH WISEMAN goes before the board of Southampton Football Club today to explain the events that have sent shock waves through the higher echelons of the game and jeopardised the nation's attempt to host the 2006 World Cup.

Wiseman, 52, will not only be asked about the alleged £2.3 million handout to the FA's Walter, but why he insists on remaining as FA chairman. The Southampton vice-chairman is likely to receive a slightly more formal reception from the FA's Executive Committee members and their vote of no confidence on Tuesday.

Southampton chairman's Stuart Pearce said yesterday: "I would like to think we are still a Christian enough society not to make any knee-jerk or unfair judgements. We know that all stories come out of us sufficiently psychic to know everything that has taken place in the internecine workings of the FA... he has the opportunity to tell us his side of the story and until we have heard it, we cannot make any valid or proper reaction. We will every confidence in him."



Wiseman . . . limited impact
Vivek Chaudhary
on Southampton's
curiosity over a
handout and why
the FA chairman
refuses to budge

Described as a hard-headed traditionalist with few public-speaking abilities, many claim that the way Wiseman was elected to FA chairman says a lot about him.

Following the resignation of Sir Bert Millichip after Euro 96, Wiseman's candidacy was opposed by the Premier League, who felt that they wanted to see a younger, forward-thinking FA chairman. The Sheffield Wednesday chairman Dave Richards was chosen as their official candidate.

In a masterful piece of political manoeuvring, Wiseman managed to acquire the backing of a powerful amateur section of the FA by agreeing that he would take it over only for the duration of the election campaign after which he would step down.

With the amateur game holding as much power within the FA as professional football, Richards was defeated and Wiseman was elected to become chairman.

Pearson and Beardsley set for Carlisle

Michael Walker

NIGEL PEARSON will be unveiled as the manager of Carlisle United this morning and his first signing will be Peter Beardsley. With Carlisle being the place of the bottom of the Third Division, it seems that Michael Knighton has decided that now is the time to end his experiment of being both the chairman and manager of the Cumbrian club.

It is the 35-year-old Pearson's first job in management; he retired from playing in May after leading Middlesbrough back into the Football League. Hardley, two years his senior, has been linked with a move to Carlisle, whom he first joined in 1979, ever since it became apparent that his future at Bolton was non-

FA set for Sheepshanks redemption

Martin Thorpe

EARLY indications point to clear favourites in the race to take over as chairman and chief executive of the Football Association.

The Ipswich chairman David Sheepshanks, deputy chairman of the Football League, seems to be in prime position to step up should Keith Wiseman be forced out of office. He also sits on the FA executive committee whose members have only led to Graham Kelly's resignation.

Meanwhile, Richard Scudamore, the chief executive of the Football League, is highly fancied to take over from Kelly. Scudamore has impressed people within the FA with the job he has done at the League and his extensive commercial background required.

Yesterday Sheepshanks was revealing little about his desire for Wiseman's job, saying he was not yet committed to it. He is expected to be promoted to his promotion drive at Ipswich Town and to continuing my work with my colleagues at both the Football League and the FA for the betterment of the game.

Liverpool's Rick Parry,

who is a former chief executive of the Premier League, and the Manchester United director Greg Dyke both ruled themselves out of the running.

Davies, promoted from FA director of public affairs to acting executive director following Tuesday's events, laughed off suggestions that he might replace Kelly. "I am delighted with some of the speculation of my former colleagues in the media but the fact of the matter is that this has all come as a surprise to me. I have not thought about it."

That cannot be a priority to somebody like me."

As for the chairman's job, David Dein, the Arsenal vice-chairman, is understood to be interested but the FA would like to see a written description to allow him to fit in that role with his commitments at Highbury.

The FA vice-chairman Graham Taylor, who has taken temporary control at Lancaster Gate, is another in the frame, while the Chelsea chairman Ken Bates is understood to have been approached to be caretaker chairman.

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The Guardian  **INTERACTIVE**

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دکتر محمد صالح المنجد

Zola finds drawing power

The weather in Europe

٥٥١ من الأصل



Yasmin Alibhai-Brown celebrates
Lives
 the fiery breed of black and Asian
 lawyers who have risen from humble
 origins to change the face of British justice —
 some enduring death threats along the way

The new avengers

He was the only leftie teacher in my Asian secondary school in Uganda — and Mr BK was dressed with a cane. Sorry! An ancient dhoti. Sorry! A cane. In 1989, he became the first over woman law student in this country. In the forties Mr BK came over to follow in the footsteps of his heroine, however qualified by the fire burnt on, and for years he lamented me with reluctance to study law and save the world.

And it is today, many of our hot lawyers are black and Asian. They couldn't be further from the stereotypes of the past. Think radical lawyers with names like Ibrahim, Quashie, Mohammed, Kennedy, Geoffrey, and so on. They are now the most successful and ambitious in the country. They are now the most successful and ambitious in the country.



Barrister Nicola Williams has found
unexpected ways — racists and other
drugs of society are becoming rather
keen on having radical black lawyers

resent them. It gives them, they think, a better, more appealing image. Barrister Nicola Williams has also found that race is beginning to matter in unexpected ways. She finds now that whereas black clients are nervous of having her represent them for fear of institutional racism, racism and other drugs of society are becoming rather keen on having radical black lawyers.

Science for its own sake is a key part of
what the science base should be doing,
but it had better be done by world class
people. Excellence is crucial here

So, if you're very good, you can carry on with good science. If you're not so good, you'd better get into the fashionable areas of technology. Taylor will be examining ways to start research projects in the new areas; again, he says, harnessing obvious talent is the key.



Iron will
 An alliance aims to
 oust Microsoft from
 Internet servers, writes
Jack Schofield

TWO Silicon Valley companies, Oracle and Sun Microsystems, have agreed a technology alliance that will enable them to do without Microsoft's Windows NT and other operating systems when building server computers to provide data to Internet users.

dependent